University of Alberta

A Framework for Effective Industry/First Nations Collaboration: A Case Study of the Partnership between the Alexis First Nation and Millar Western Forest Products Ltd.

By

Pia Wilkinson Chapman ©

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

Department of Anthropology

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Abstract

A Framework for Effective Industry/First Nations Collaboration: A Case Study of the Partnership between the Alexis First Nation and Millar Western Forest Products.

Pia Wilkinson Chapman
Spring 2004

A Master's Degree thesis submitted to the Faculty of Arts in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

Supervisor: Dr. Clifford Hickey

This Master's thesis proposes a framework for effective Industry/First Nations collaboration that was developed from the case study findings on the partnership between the Alexis First Nation (AFN) and Millar Western Forest Products (MWFP). The framework was formulated after taking into consideration the social, cultural and economic processes at the community and industry levels in order to understand how they affect collaboration at the Industry/First Nations interface.

The purpose of the framework is to provide a mechanism for development using capacity building approaches. Two significant conclusions of this research are: first, capacity development should consider the cultural and social processes of the organizations involved; and second, building institutional capacity is crucial for the effective management of capacity development.

Key Words: Industry/First Nation Partnerships, Millar Western Forest Products, Alexis First Nation, Capacity Development.

To my parents…

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAC	Annual Allowable Cut
ABC	Alexis Business Corporation
ADCs	Advanced Developed Countries
AFN	Alexis First Nation
AOP	Annual Operating Plan
AR	Action Research
CBD	Convention on Biological Diversity
CCFM	Canadian Council of Forest Ministers
CCI	Canadian Circumpolar Institute
CD	Capacity Development
CFC	Canadian Forest Coalition
CFS	Canadian Forest Service
CNW	Canadian Newswire
CSA	Canadian Standards Association
CSD	Commission on Sustainable Development
DFA	Defined Forest Area
DIAND	Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development
ECDPM	European Center for Development Policy Management
FCCC	Framework Convention on Climate Change
FMA	Forest Management Area
FNFP	First Nations Forestry Program
FPAC	Forest Products Association of Canada

FSC	Forest Stewardship Council
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GIS	Geographic Information Systems
GPS	Global Positioning System
HRD	Human Resources Development
IIED	International Institute for Environment and Development
IOG	Institute on Governance
INAC	Indian and Northern Affairs Canada
INFC	International Network of Forests and Communities
IRM	Integrated Resource Management
LDCs	Lesser developed countries
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
MWFP	Millar Western Forest Products
NAFA	National Aboriginal Forestry Association
NAIT	Northern Alberta Institute of Technology
NaTCAP	National Technical Cooperation Assessment Programmes
NES Strategy	Northern East Slopes Sustainable Resource and Environmental Management Strategy
NGOs	Non-Government Organizations
NRCan	Natural Resources Canada
PAR	Participatory Action Research
PM&E	Participatory Monitoring and Evaluation
RCAP	Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples
SAC	Sustainable Aboriginal Communities

SFM	Sustainable Forest Management
SFM Network	Sustainable Forest Management Network
TC	Technical Cooperation
TCP	Technical Cooperation Program
TK	Traditional Knowledge
TLU	Traditional Land-Use
TLUOS	Traditional Land-Use and Occupancy Study
TQM	Total Quality Management
UK DFID	United Kingdom Department for International Development.
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNCED	United Nations Conference on the Environment and Development
UNSD	United Nations Sustainable Development
WTO	World Trade Organization

1.0 Introduction

Over the past 25 years, there have been numerous developments in the areas of environmental sustainability and aboriginal rights that have re-shaped relationships between the forest industry and aboriginal[1] peoples. These developments have precipitated a range of management regimes designed to incorporate Aboriginal communities into many facets of the activities of forest companies operating on their traditional lands. The measures employed range from "...basic consultation to advisory bodies, planning partnerships, forest licenses for Aboriginal firms, third party licenses, and industry-First Nation joint ventures" (NAFA, April 1995: 1). In short, these regimes, which are described by such synonyms as co-management, joint stewardship agreements, First Nation-Government partnerships, First Nation-industry partnerships and First Nation-industry employment partnerships, are all forms of what is popularly known as "integrated management". First Nation/Industry partnerships do not necessarily constitute "integrated management" if they do not incorporate some of the values intrinsic to this approach. According to NAFA (1994), integrated management:

> ... recognizes the importance of being aware of and strengthening the linkages between the forest health, wildlife, and fisheries. This approach respects basic forest management principles, while focusing on the maintenance of sustainable forests and enhancing non-timber forest values and uses. As well, for some First Nations this approach includes community participation in the management process and inspires a sense of community ownership of the First Nations' forest management goals and objectives (10-11).

Partnerships with First Nations often include consideration of the values that the First Nations traditionally assign to forests along with economic opportunities.

---

[1] In this thesis the term aboriginal and First Nation are used interchangeably. The Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND) define aboriginal peoples as: "The descendants of the original inhabitants of North America. The Canadian Constitution recognizes three groups of Aboriginal people – Indians, Métis people and Inuit. These are three separate people with unique heritages, languages, cultural practices and spiritual beliefs" (DIAND: March 2000, 3). The term First Nation on the other hand, is: A term that came into usage in the 1970s to replace the word "Indian", which many people found offensive. Although the term First Nation is widely used, no legal definition of it exists. Among its uses, the term "First Nations peoples' refers to the Indian people of Canada, both status and non-status. Many Indian people have also adopted the term: First Nation" to replace the word "band" in the name of their community (ibid)

First Nations, industry and governments have explored news ways of balancing the cultural and economic values of the forest in order to avoid undesirable recourse to litigation. Although partnerships have increased First Nations access to forestry, many "do not have the factual knowledge to participate effectively" (Feit and Beaulieu, 2001: 123), and many also lack experience in commercial forestry work. Governments and industry have consequently encouraged capacity development (CD)[2] as a holistic approach to empower First Nations communities for the sustainability of aboriginal cultural, social and economic values.

CD is consistent with partnerships as they both imply long-term collaboration. Partnerships present a specific context in which to focus on CD since both First Nations and industry are stakeholders in the forest[3]. Empowering aboriginal communities so that they, as Folger and Bush (in Allen 2001) write, "....gain greater clarity about their goals, resources, options and preferences so that they use this information to make their own clear and deliberate decisions" (chapter 2 section, para. 31), is a complex task since CD does not take place in a vacuum: CD also involves the integration of the diverse cultures and socio-economic values of the participating industry and First Nations group.

The purpose of this thesis is to provide a framework for effective integration for a type of relationship characterized as a socio-economic partnership. A socio-economic partnership is one whose:

> ...foremost interest... [is the] enhancement of capacity or community development for First Nations. From the First Nation perspective, these objectives may take priority over strictly profit motives. Generally, the industry partners enter into socio-economic partnerships as a means to facilitate a key

---

[2] The European Center for Development Policy Management (ECDPM) notes that "the terms 'capacity development' and 'capacity building' are often used interchangeably by researchers and practitioners. Strictly taken, capacity development, the more recent term, emphasises the notion of an 'on-going process', which takes account of existing capacities rather than focusing solely on 'building' new capacities. The term is thus related to the approach used" (ECDPM, Introduction section, footnote 1).

[3] First Nations and their proponents have justifiably argued that First Nations are not just another 'stakeholder' because their rights are recognized by the Constitution and the Supreme Court of Canada and therefore their interests transcend the interests of others.

> business objective. For example, governments are increasingly calling for Aboriginal participation in forestry ventures as a condition in awarding forest tenures or timber logging licenses. Increased interest in forest management and wood certification may further encourage this type of partnership. All major certification schemes include consideration of Aboriginal peoples as a requirement of sustainable management. This partnership form is of particular importance to communities that lack experience in forestry operations and which are faced with an over-riding need for human resources development which includes exposure to basic business methods, basic entrepreneurial capacity building and so on. (NAFA and IOG, 2000: 29).

The goal of the framework is to create a constructive dialogue between First Nations and industry, one that encourages the active participation of the involved persons, through a process of cross-cultural adaptation with two main objectives: 1) to enhance the capacity of the First Nations group, and 2) to enhance the capacity of the industry/First Nations relationship so that they can work together more effectively.

One of the reasons for undertaking this analysis is to advance the discussion of CD in a university setting, for as Lusthaus, Adrien and Perstinger (1999) assert:

> Although universities and research centers have been the traditional places for the accumulation and dissemination of knowledge, this has not been the case in the development of CD. Most CD literature exists in agencies and NGOs and on the internet. New entities and organizations are increasingly accepting their role in knowledge building and significant work is being done and accumulated in international agencies…donors… and consulting firms (1999: 10).

The second reason for undertaking this analysis is to explore the meaning of CD in the context of First Nations and industry partnerships as CD is a relatively new and undefined term, yet used extensively especially with respect to development in indigenous communities. There are clear implications in the use of the term 'capacity development', especially when it is used as recognition of efforts made to empower First Nations communities. As industry, governments and researchers receive recognition for their efforts in empowering First Nations' communities in sustainable forest management (SFM), the use of the term can mask the reality of actual aboriginal participation. For example, although awarding a contract to a First Nations community may be indicative of industry's obvious concern to improve economic opportunities of the First Nation community, it may not address community values for formal or informal training or community participation: the First Nation community may not have the capacity to successfully complete the contract, whereby training is not considered or, representatives of the community may hire outside help, whereby community participation is not addressed.

There has not been a formal review of CD in partnerships between industry and First Nations in Canada. It is hoped that this analysis will provide a framework for CD to be used to refine or shed light on initiatives to enhance First Nations/industry collaboration in socio-economic partnerships.

Chapter Outlines

Chapter 2.0, "A Survey of the Issues" captures the process and trends of CD as a mechanism to integrate indigenous societies in sustainable forest management in the international and Canadian context.

Chapter 3.0, "Research Methodology" provides an overview of the approaches employed in the case study and in the development of the framework for effective industry/ First Nation collaboration.

Chapter 4.0, "Aboriginal Participation in Sustainable Forest Development - Theory and Practice" explores approaches to SFM in Canada and the theoretical and practical application of aboriginal and treaty rights.

Chapter 5.0, "Capacity Development in Cross-cultural Collaboration for Sustainable Management" explores the meaning of CD as a mechanism for effective cooperation through an analysis of the main elements of CD.

Chapter 6.0, "A Framework for Effective Collaboration for Socio-economic Partnerships" proposes a framework for effective industry/First Nations collaboration through CD approaches paying particular attention to cross-cultural collaboration on which the partnership is based.

Chapter 7.0, "Evaluating the Socio-economic Partnership between the Alexis First Nation and Millar Western Forest Products" evaluates the partnership between the Alexis First Nation and Millar Western Forest Products through the lens of the designed framework for effective collaboration in socio-economic partnerships.

Chapter 8.0, "Conclusions" reviews the major findings of the thesis and illustrates the significant role that anthropology can play in sustainable development.

2.0 A Survey of the Issues

2.1 Capacity Development

The emphasis on capacity building as an approach to building First Nations capacity in Canada gained momentum after the Earth Summit in June, 1992 held in Rio de Janeiro, in which Canada and 178 other governments participated. Organized by the United Nations (UN) to halt and reverse the effects of environmental degradation, the concept of sustainable development was proclaimed as a workable objective for everyone around the world at the local, national and international levels (UNCED, Basic information section, para. 7). Sustainable development, defined as "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (UNCED, Basic information section, para. 4), integrates the environment, the economy and the social system into a system that can be maintained in a healthy state indefinitely. This concept, however, "...must be acknowledged as expressing an ideal. For instance, there is no general agreement on what constitutes the needs of the present, let alone those of the future" (Allen, 2001, Chapter 2 section, para.4).

Since the ability of countries to achieve sustainability lie in their organizational and technical capacity, participants at the Earth Summit concluded that the first step to achieving sustainability was to strengthen the capacity of communities to achieve sustainable regimes (UNCED, Chapter 37 section, para.1). Strategic Direction Seven, a comprehensive program of action for ensuring sustainability through capacity building was addressed in Agenda 21 of the Rio Declaration. Strategic Direction Seven was more a reflection of the contemporary trends of CD than a new approach developed at the conference (*ibid*). Agenda 21:

> . . . clearly identifies information, integration, and participation as key building blocks to help countries achieve development that recognises these interacting factors. It emphasises that in sustainable development everyone is a user and provider of information. It stresses the need to change from old sector-centred ways of doing business to new approaches that involve cross-sectoral co-ordination and the integration of environmental concerns into all development

processes. Furthermore, Agenda 21 emphasises that broad public participation in decision making is a fundamental prerequisite for achieving sustainable development (Allen, 2001, Chapter 2 section, para. 7).

Capacity building was initially thought to be a mechanism for international cooperation in developing countries to break through the rigid vertical structures characteristic of aid programmes and colonial structures left intact (Carley and Christie, 2000: 148-149) in order to develop more integrated processes so that indigenous forms of knowledge and their institutions could be incorporated. An integrated approach for sustainable regimes would therefore include the recognition and application of traditional knowledge (TK). Article 8 of the United Nations Convention on Biodiversity for example, states that development should:

> …as far as possible and as appropriate…(j) subject to national legislation, respect, preserve and maintain knowledge, innovations and practices of indigenous local communities embodying traditional lifestyles relevant to the conservation and sustainable use of biodiversity and promote their wider application (NAFA and IOG, 2000:6).

In contrast to conventional models of development, the principles of sustainable development suggest that there are numerous forms of indigenous resource management systems that are just as legitimate and valuable as western institutions. These forms of indigenous resource management systems are distinct and idiosyncratic that unlike western models of resource management are more difficult to apply to contrary situations, as no two communities are alike socially, economically or culturally. CD can be best described as a 'grass-roots' solution as it takes into consideration the existing institutions and capacities with the objective of empowering them (Eade (1997); Fals-Borda and Rahman (1991) qtd. in Horton, July 2002: 2). Empowerment of local capacities and institutions as a mechanism of cooperation and aid in development projects has taken priority over the past strategy of merely injecting cash. The World Bank's analysis of the anomaly of the results of some developing countries, whose income fell despite high levels of financial aid whereas incomes rose in those countries that did not receive high levels of aid, for example, concluded that "poor countries have been held back not by a financing gap, but by an 'institutions' and 'policy' gap" (IOG, 1999a: i).

Analysis of successful CD case studies by the fourth session on the Commission on Sustainable Development (CSD)[4] arrived at similar conclusions as the World Bank and, elicited five main ideas behind capacity building:

(1) Strengthening peoples' capacity to achieve sustainable livelihoods;
(2) A cross-sectoral multidisciplinary approach to planning and implementation;
(3) Emphasis on organizational and technological change and innovation;
(4) Emphasis on the need to build social capital (i.e., voluntary forms of social regulation) through experimentation and learning;
(5) Emphasis on developing the skills and performance of both individuals and institutions (Economic and Social Council, 4 March, 1996, 2).

The fourth session on the CSD consequently concluded that:

Capacity development is fundamentally a governance issue in that progress depends upon openness, experimentation, the involvement of citizens and beneficiaries, bureaucratic transparency and accountability. States that can promote these elements of good governance can make good progress at the institutional level. At the level of individuals, groups and organizations, an array of operational tools is available, especially in the area of organizational development, either through the donor community or directly via the information networks" (Economic and Social Council: 4 March, 1996:9)

2.2 Forces Driving the Participation of First Nations in Sustainable Forest Management in Canada

In Canada there are three intersecting forces that have influenced the incorporation of aboriginal peoples in forestry:

---

[4] The Commission on Sustainable Development (CSD) was created in December 1992 to: 1) Ensure effective follow-up of UNCED; and, 2) Monitor and report on the implementation of the Earth Summit agreements at the local, national, regional and international levels. One of its mandates is to: "promote dialogue and build partnerships for sustainable development with governments, the international community and the major groups identified in Agenda 21 as key actors outside the central government who have a major role to play in the transition towards sustainable development including women, youth, indigenous peoples, non-governmental organizations, local authorities, workers and trade unions, business and industry, the scientific community, and farmers" (United Nations Division on Sustainable Development, Mandate section, para 3).

First, nearly half of the Canadian landmass is forested (May, 1998: 2), containing ten percent of the world's forest (Driedger, in NAFA, March, 1996: 1). Forests, which are integral to environmental sustainability, therefore mean that Canada has to be concerned with environmental sustainability. Given that nearly eighty percent of aboriginal people are located within Canada's forested landscape (IOG, 1998: 7), integration of aboriginal communities is necessary for the sustainable futures of industry, governments and First Nations. Currently, for example, some certification systems, which are symbolic of companies practicing sustainable forest management (SFM) such as the Forest Stewardship Council (FSC), require that forest companies consult with First Nations. As well, legally and constitutionally aboriginal communities have to be consulted during the allocation of resources to forest managers (Robinson and Ross, 1999:175).

Second, being the world's largest exporter of wood and wood products and producing one third of all the newsprint in the world, Canada's concern for adhering to the principles of sustainability has led federal and provincial government increasingly to make provisions for aboriginal participation in all facets of forestry. Three primary examples include the First Nations Forestry Program (FNFP), the Model Forest Program and the funding for research to encourage industry/First Nations partnerships through the Sustainable Forest Management Network (SFM Network). These programs are described in detail in Chapter four.

Third, developments in the area of aboriginal rights in the past 25 years are ensuring that aboriginal people are taken into consideration in sustainable development. These events include, but are not limited to: the 1975 James Bay Northern Quebec Agreement which was the first comprehensive land claims agreement, and others that followed; the recognition of the inherent right to self-government under section 35 (1) of the *Constitution Act, 1982* which reads: *The existing Aboriginal and treaty rights of the Aboriginal peoples of Canada are hereby affirmed*; the Canadian Environmental Assessment Act; Supreme Court decisions such as R. v. Sparrow in 1990 that required federal and provincial governments to justify a proposed infringement of constitutionally protected aboriginal and treaty rights; and disputes over land and resources resulting in violence.

The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) recognized the forest industry as providing a pathway to aboriginal self-sufficiency and recommended that governments and industry work to include aboriginal peoples through the formation of partnerships and access to forest management and planning. The RCAP also recognized that the forest industry was encroaching upon the aboriginal hunting, fishing and trapping way of life without consultation (IOG, 1998:8). In response to the RCAP, the federal government in the document *Gathering Strength,* made a commitment to work in partnership with the Assembly of First Nations to implement the RCAP's recommendations including a commitment through the Lands and Trusts Services Review to define the primary land management issues and propose policy options in a holistic manner (*ibid*).

2.3 The Relationship between Industry and First Nations

Numerous forest companies established relationships with aboriginal peoples, and created departments to oversee aboriginal issues long before the popularization of sustainable development. NAFA and IOG (2000) distinguish five partnership types: 1) joint ventures; 2) cooperative business arrangements; 3) forest services contracting; 4) socio-economic partnerships; and 5) forest management planning. (Partnerships can combine different elements of the five categories).

Partnerships between industry and First Nations today however are gaining increasing attention, because although governments have traditionally had the obligation to consult with aboriginal peoples[5], industry has increasingly been given that responsibility (Robinson and Ross, 1999: 173-174). In a recent landmark court decision in *Haida Nation v. Minister of Forests and Weyerhaeuser*, the implication of the BC court of appeal ruling is that "Third parties such as Weyerhauser can have a legally enforceable duty to consult with affected First Nations and seek workable accommodation of First Nation interests" (Bull and Bull, 2002: 3). The ruling can also imply that industry has the duty to ensure that the Crown's fiduciary duty of consultation has been satisfied (Bull and Bull, 2002: 6).

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[5] Many aboriginal rights flow from the Royal Proclamation of 1763, which gave partial protection to the aboriginal way of life. The Proclamation gave the federal government the obligation to consult with aboriginal peoples when their lands were being encroached upon (Smith, March, 2000:1). Many non-aboriginal peoples, including government and industry, did not respect this

Industry/First Nations partnerships are a positive trend in many respects, as it is a hands-on approach that avoids the bureaucratic challenges of the federal and provincial governments. Many companies, however, are not familiar with working with First Nations groups, while many First Nations are unfamiliar with collaborating with industry. In addition, many First Nations groups in socio-economic partnerships lack the basic entrepreneurial structures, which are not simple to build because of the history of "…development schemes, funding programs, service delivery and imposition of rules inappropriate to aboriginal culture (Wagmatzook First Nation and Cities and Environment Unit, 2000:3)" that have caused a host of social problems from which many aboriginal communities continue to suffer today. Industry/First Nations partnerships must therefore consider CD strategies to include social and institutional developments concurrently, as social unrest can threaten transactions and the achievement of common goals (IOG, 1999a: 16). Consequently, "…effective capacity building depends more and more on the ability of participants to manage collaboration, conflict and coordination for productive ends" (Economic and Social Council: 4 March, 1996: 2).

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right. It was further complicated when the Federal government passed responsibility for natural resources to the provinces but retained its obligations to Indians and the lands reserved for them (Smith, March 2000: 27).

3.0 Research Methodology

3.1 Case Study Methodology

From May 2000 to April 2002, as part of my Master's thesis project, I worked as a member of a team conducting a project entitled "An Integrated Forest Management Strategy" between the Alexis First Nation (AFN) and Millar Western Forest Products (MWFP). The SFM Network funded this project. My role, under the supervision of Dr. Hickey, was to monitor and evaluate the partnership between the AFN and MWFP with the following four objectives:

1) Identify the barriers (social, cultural, economic) that impede effective community-industry collaboration;
2) Facilitate communication by identifying areas of conflict;
3) Identify real and potential production barriers; and
4) Develop a framework for analysis that includes mechanisms for conflict resolution

This research received letters of support from the AFN and MWFP in December, 1999. Both parties expressed the need for the analysis of their partnership in the hope that such an analysis would improve their working relationship. At all initial and subsequent stages of the research the AFN and MWFP were consulted in order that they might provide input into the design and execution of the research.

Although my designated role was to monitor and evaluate the partnership, circumstances dictated that I also act from time to time as a mediator and coordinator. Key to my strategy was the presentation of information in a manner that was conducive to building the capacity of the AFN and MWFP to work together effectively.

This type of research is often called "participatory action research" (PAR). PAR:

> . . . is usually sponsored by an independent group or community, is directed toward the discovery of information about an issue or opportunity of community concern, is aided by a facilitator, and often results in empowerment of the

> community of people involved (Friedlander, 2001:3) . . . In PAR, people in the organization or community actively participate with the professional researcher throughout the research process from the initial design to the final presentation of results and discussion of their action implications. They thus engage actively in the quest for information and ideas to guide their future actions, [and] participate directly in the research processes, which in turn are applied in ways that benefit all participants directly . . . The researcher is, in a sense, a facilitator or consultant to the participant group, helping it explore *group* issues and facilitate *group* development and change. The result frequently empowers the group by giving it more information about itself so as to move in directions favorable to its interests. PAR also provides learning for the participant group or community, which can lead to action. Hopefully, it also leads to theory building for both the participants and for the scholarly audience (Friedlander, 2001: 5-6).

PAR is similar to another method of action-oriented research called "action research" (AR) in that they are both concerned with the integration of theory and practice. Both PAR and AR are intervention-based, usually with the goal of social change. AR differs from PAR in the research design and purpose. AR does not consider the participants' input into the research design, nor is the study intended to fulfill the participant's interest. Instead, AR is:

> . . . directed toward a purposeful goal with a specific set of people, with a consultant who manages the process. It is usually sponsored by an organization and is intended to help fulfill an organization's purpose . . . In general, the researcher represents the interest of the organization that sponsors or hires her (Friedlander, 2001: 2).

My research was PAR based, as participants had an input into the research design and the research processes. The issues and concerns were all based on matters that arose from the AFN/MWFP partnership rather than on concerns of the SFM Network's or of the Department of Anthropology (although there was much overlap). My research was guided by the wishes of both organizations to bridge the gap between them using capacity building mechanisms such as to monitor and evaluate the partnership and, to communicate barriers to collaboration.

Within those broad principles, my research was bounded by the SFM Network's research program, which address issues relating to strategies and institutions for SFM. SFM Network projects are aimed at improving communications and the transfer of knowledge from researchers to practitioners and forest managers as well as the general public.

There were eight interacting phases to the research methodology:

1. Literature Review

The literature review conducted for the research covered the following subject areas: industry/First Nations partnerships in the forestry sector (this included the gathering of information on MWFP and the AFN and their partnership); sustainable development; CD; organizational behavior; and organizational development.

2. Networking

Meetings with the AFN and MWFP to reinforce and review the project goals were arranged throughout the project in order to encourage the active participation of current and new community and industry members.

3. Participant-observation

Participant-observation was conducted at meetings and during the execution of contracts held between the AFN and MWFP from June, 2000 to March, 2002.

4. Ethnographic Fieldwork

Given that the AFN is not a corporation with a formal organization, ethnographic fieldwork was conducted in order to understand how social and cultural factors influence decision-making for the purpose of developing culturally relevant strategies for partnership building between MWFP and the AFN. Fieldtrips to the community were therefore undertaken to get familiarized with the community and its members. This included attendance at two social events: a graduation ceremony and a pow-wow. Research also focused on understanding how the community organizes itself in forestry-related activities by taking field trips to

MWFP's forest management area (FMA), where AFN members were working on brush-saw and tree-planting projects, as well as through interviews and discussion with members from the AFN and MWFP.

5. Formal and Informal Interviews

Forty-one formal and informal interviews were conducted with both the AFN and MWFP. Interviews were both semi-structured and open-ended. I conducted all of the interviews myself. Because I was also acting as a liaison between the First Nations group and the company, I did not use a tape recorder in order to allow the individuals being interviewed to feel free to say what they wanted without the fear that their words would be re-played and used against them. There was no need for a translator as all participants spoke English. Interviewees were selected based on their involvement in the partnership: senior members from both organizations; and, supervisors and crews of the contracts. Interviews were held at the AFN training center, at the band office, at MWFP's Whitecourt office and at its head office in Edmonton. All of the interviews were conducted individually. The research was based primarily on monitoring and evaluation techniques, and it relied on the interviews only to a modest extent. Interview questions changed over time and were for the most part contingent on the evaluation of the partnership. Appendix A provides a sample of the interview questions.

6. Updates

Updates from MWFP and the AFN on the partnership were done through e-mail, fax and phone.

7. Reports

Two reports[6] were written with the objective of documenting partnership endeavors for the purpose of illustrating the barriers to communication and

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[7]

1) Hickey, Clifford and Pia Wilkinson Chapman. December 2001. Working Towards an

production in the three areas of the partnership: economic development, Traditional Land Use and Occupancy Study (TLUOS) and the education program. The reports also provided recommendations for future collaboration. The report of December 2001 illustrated many of the problems and barriers to communication and production between May 2000 and August 2001. Both parties used the ideas as a foundation to build better strategies for improved cooperation. The report of May 2002 built on the research done from May 2000 to August 2001 through further analysis of the partnership between September 2001 and March 2002. All of the information in both reports was examined by MWFP and the AFN before they were finalized. Revisions and comments were taken into consideration in the final versions. MWFP gave written comments, while the AFN gave verbal comments. I attended six Council meetings at the AFN to go over the reports.

8. Active-Participation

Given that my role was in part to monitor and evaluate the partnership, my investigations gave me opportunities to identify the concerns of both parties. All of the issues raised were investigated with individuals from both groups. In that process, many of the problems and concerns were clarified to both groups, and I gained a deeper understanding of the institutional structure of MWFP and AFN, which assisted me to identify the barriers, facilitate communication and help the partners overcome real and potential barriers.

The primary responsibility as a result of the monitoring and evaluation of the partnership was to keep everyone informed and on-track about partnership

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Integrated Forest Management Strategy. A Report on the Partnership between Millar Western Forest Products and the Alexis First Nations. Department of Anthropology, University of Alberta.

2) Hickey, Clifford and Pia Wilkinson Chapman. May 2002. A Strategy to Integrate First Nations into Forestry. A Follow-Up Report on the Partnership between Millar Western Forest Products And The Alexis First Nation. Department of Anthropology, University of Alberta.

endeavors and expectations. My role consequently included the active participation in, and coordination of, the partnership. I, for example, organized some meetings between MWFP and the AFN and reported to the Chief Forester and Chief and Council about the partnership issues. I was also responsible for creating the agendas for the meetings and for writing and circulating the minutes. During this process, outcomes that tremendously benefited the partnership were:

1) The sharing of information, ideas and concerns of the partnership, including the mitigation of conflicts;
2) The sharing of knowledge on forestry with the AFN;
3) The sharing of knowledge on the cultural organization of the AFN and MWFP;
4) Discussing and advising on CD strategies.

Since the partnership was my priority, I was able to commit a lot of my time and efforts towards assisting the partners to achieve the goals of the partnership. The principal strength of my methods lay in the interventionist role characteristic of PAR methods. The limitation of the interventionist role is that this type of work often required expertise that stretched my academic background and my experience to its limits. The work was therefore often frustrating and overwhelming. In addition, since this type of work is a relatively new approach both in research and in practice, and had few precedents in which to rely on, I had to be creative and resourceful. The interventionist approach did play an important role in the direction that my research took, as was particularly evident in 2002, when my efforts were responsible for recommencing the partnership after communication barriers had halted the partnership. My intervention also affected the direction that the partnership took after 2002, when both partners decided to overcome past barriers utilizing the strategies that I had suggested.

3.2 Development of the Framework for Effective Integration

The idea for a framework for effective collaboration arose as a result of one of the project's objectives of creating a framework of analysis for the partnership, so that the partnership could continually be monitored and evaluated for successful collaboration even after project completion.

Integral to the framework are CD strategies. I began to use the concept of 'capacity development' as I use it in this thesis during the second year of my research, when it became obvious that there was a lack of clear strategies in the AFN/MWFP's partnership for achieving the goals of enhancing the AFN's capacity to work effectively in forestry. In the investigation of why there were no clear strategies, one of the reasons appeared to be that although the concept of 'capacity building' was in common use in the partnership, there was no definition of what that meant in their partnership. Also, both MWFP and the AFN had a narrow view of capacity building. The strategies for building capacity for them meant formal training in forestry activities, rather than also building organizational capacity to enhance the ability of both organizations to work together cooperatively. Second, the concept of capacity building did not include the 'development' of capacity. In other words, strategies to build on the achievements and the lessons learned were not in place. There was also no plan on how the partnership should progress, which is an important precondition for developing appropriate strategies. Influenced by the concept of capacity development from my readings, I decided to apply the concept to the partnership to provide both parties with a focus on working towards improving the AFN's capacity and the partnership through stages, at a point in their partnership when frustrations had caused partnership endeavors to come to a complete halt. The structure of capacity development outlined in this thesis consequently arose as a direct result of the recognition that numerous intricate economic, social, and cultural factors have to be considered in a socio-economic partnership.

Rather than merely creating a framework for analysis for the partnership between the AFN and MWFP, the absence of literature on CD between the forest industry and First Nations fostered the idea of writing a thesis on a framework for effective collaboration in the hopes that it could be applied to other similar socio-economic partnerships.

Given that CD is a concept that is only now coming to be widely appreciated, there are only sketchy examples in the forestry sector that address CD in Canada. The works of the NAFA and IOG provide some guidelines to address CD in industry/First Nations relations in the forestry sector. Examples from the international realms and theories on organizational development and behavior were therefore consulted to gain insights into cross-cultural collaboration.

The literature review elicited two main ideas behind CD: 1) cross-cultural adaptation; and, 2) improving collaboration of the involved groups to address CD through their institutional capacity. Underscoring these ideas is the fundamental principle of enhancing the knowledge of the concerned parties on how to adapt and create an effective dialogue for development initiatives. This thesis builds on the relevant works to create a framework for effective collaboration between industry and First Nations in the forestry sector.

4.0 Aboriginal Participation in Sustainable Forest Management – Theory and Practice

This chapter explores the theoretical and practical applications of First Nations participation in SFM through the analysis of certification systems, TLUOS and economic development initiatives.

4.1. Certification in Canada

Certification began in the 1990s with the idea of influencing forest companies to practice SFM as well as to give consumers assurance that the forest products come from sustainable forests. Certification is intended to verify, as well as communicate to the general public, that forest management has met defined standards. Many certification schemes, for example, have labeling and trademarks to communicate to buyers and consumers that the product comes from companies who have been adhering to SFM practices. The process of obtaining certification is a voluntary one in which managers or owners of a defined forest area (DFA) request an inspection of their DFA to ensure that certification standards are being met. Certification does not guarantee sustainability but can be "…best viewed as a "policy driver" for: 1) improving forest management standards and, 2) satisfying buyer groups and consumers of forest products" (Bare, November 2000:9).

There are numerous certification systems used by the Canadian forest industry. The four major certification systems used are: the Canadian Standards Association (CSA), the Forest Stewardship Council (FSC) international, the International Organization for Standardization (ISO 14000), and the American Forest and Paper Association's (AF&PA) Sustainable Forest Initiative Program (SFI). Table 4.1 lists the major elements of the four-certification regimes.

The material involved has been removed because of copyright restriction. The information removed was Table 4.1, a comparison of main certification systems of interest in Canada. Source: Tony Rotherham and Kathy Abusow, 2000:4

Forest certification in Canada formally began in 1998. Currently 72 million hectares out of 120 million hectares of commercial forests in Canada are certified, making Canada the leader in the worlds' certified forests (Forest Products Association of Canada, Sept 2002: 7). It is forecasted that by 2006, 75 percent of Canada's commercial forest will be certified (*ibid*). Currently, the majority of forests are certified under ISO (67.7%), followed by the CSA (5.4%), SFI (3.9%) and FSC (0.2%) (Abusow, 2002:1). The reason that only a small percentage of companies are certified under FSC is because the FSC currently does not have regional standards. FSC Canada has proposed regional standards based on FSC international principles that are in a draft proposal entitled *Developing an FSC Boreal Standard Canada. Option for decision-making and reconciling input* (FSC, 2002). FSC Canada has been drafting and gathering input into the proposal from numerous agencies across the country since 1996.

As can be seen from table 4.1, there is no conventional method of adhering to SFM. In addition, forest companies use diverse certification systems for different divisions of their FMA. Weyerhauser and Canfor for example use both CSA and ISO 14000 while Domtar Inc and Tembec Inc use both FSC and ISO 14000 (Abusow, 2002:1).

Other key elements of certification include: third party auditing "in order to avoid the perception of conflict of interest" (Nash, March 2002:30); broad stakeholder involvement, including the public (Nash: *ibid*); transparency and accountability (Nash: *ibid*); and, a chain of custody which "provides an unbroken trail of accountability for forest products from their origin in the forest to their end use" (Nash, March 2002:19).

Measuring for SFM differs according to the system employed. There are two broad measurements used: performance-based or environmental management systems (also known as systems-based). Certification systems often use a mixture of the two:

Performance-based systems have performance requirements usually expressed as criteria and indicators or standards and certification is essentially a process of assessment against the standards. Certification of environmental managements systems (EMS) is an assessment of a forest organisation to manage and control environmental impacts of their operations measured against a management standard. ISO 1400I is the prominent environmental system being utilized (Fordyce, March 2000:4).

ISO has a systems-based approach while the FSC emphasizes performance, and the SFI and CSA lie somewhere in-between. Table 4.2 illustrates the measurement standards of the four major certification systems in Canada. According to Nash (March 2002), the simplest distinction between an environmental management system and a performance based system is that a systems-based approach focuses on environmental management through the development and implementation of environmental policy, while performance-based systems focus on the enhancement of all aspects of forestry, not just the environmental aspect, including: ecological, economic, social, and cultural aspects (Nash, 2002:2).

The guidelines for certification are set either by governments, private agencies or NGOs. The American Forest and Paper Association (AF&PA) set the SFI guidelines for its company and trade association members, while NGOs set the CSA, FSC and IOG guidelines. Certification is usually done by: 1) first party – the landowner or firm; 2) second party-an industry or association, 3) third party – an independent certifier. The CSA, FSC and ISO require third party certification while the SFI gives the choice of either first, second or third party audits (Rotherham and Abusow, 2000:5). The ISO does not require a chain of custody as it is systems-based, which means that only the system-not the product- is certified. Hence under ISO, companies cannot claim that their wood products are environmentally friendly. Consequently, only wood products produced under CSA, FSC and FSI approaches can receive "eco labeling". Currently NGO's consider the FSC to be the most credible system. Table 4.3 lists the main reasons for NGO's preference for FSC.

The material involved has been removed because of copyright restriction. The information removed was Table 4.2, a description of performance and management-based systems. Source: Tony Rotherham and Kathy Abusow, 2000:3

TABLE 4.3
COMPARISON OF PERFORMANCE-BASED CERTIFICATION SYSTEMS IN CANADA

	FSC	CSA	SFI
Certification of performance standards with clear minimum environmental and social thresholds.	Yes	No	No
Allows for equitable and balanced participation and decision-making.	Yes	No	No
Includes a credible chain of custody as a basis for product labelling.	Yes	No	No
Requires independent third party assessment and annual field audits.	Yes	Yes	No
Is transparent to the public and the parties involved.	Yes	No	No
Requires forest management unit level certification.	Yes	Yes	Yes
Is cost effective and voluntary.	Yes	Yes	Yes
Requires a clear commitment from managers toward improving forest management.	Yes	Yes	Yes
Is a global system, applicable in all regions and all sorts of tenure systems	Yes	No	No

---- adapted from Sierra Club (Comparing the Systems)

4.2. Certification in the Context of First Nations

Only the CSA and the FSC (international and Canadian) certification systems have principles to incorporate Indigenous peoples' treaty rights. Both, however, differ significantly in composition and mandate to include First Nations forestry.

In 1998, when Canada renewed its National Forest Strategy (NFS) by being signatories to the Canada Forest Accord (1998), Strategic Direction Seven addressed "…the need for First Nations access to resources, the recognition and protection of aboriginal and treaty rights and aboriginal participation as essential elements of forest management" (Assembly of First Nations, June 25, 1998:1). The Canadian Council of Forest Ministers were to act as public trustees of NFS. NAFA[9] petitioned for and gained acceptance from the CCFM to commit to and make provisions for aboriginal and treaty rights under Strategic Direction Seven. Indictor 6.1 Aboriginal and treaty rights and, 6.2 Participation by Aboriginal communities in sustainable forest management were subsequently added. Indicator 6.2 considers the:

6.2.1 Extent to which forest planning and management processes consider and meet legal obligations with respect to duly established Aboriginal and treaty rights)
6.2.2. Extent to which forest management planning takes into account the protection of unique or significant Aboriginal social, cultural or spiritual sites.
6.2.3. Number of Aboriginal communities with a significant forestry component in the economic base and diversity of forest use at the community level.
6.2.4. Area of forest land available for subsistence purposes
6.2.5. Area of Indian reserve lands under integrated management plans.
---Smith (1998: 5).

The strategy also addresses employment and training needs. Owing to the lack of a comprehensive program, however, the NFS had not been entirely realized as it did not tie key players responsible for aboriginal communities together:

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[9] The only aboriginal representation in the technical committee of the CSA was NAFA. NAFA did caution the CSA "…about giving the impression that it has more aboriginal involvement than actually is the case" (Smith, 1998:4).

> . . . the department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development as the fiduciary with statutory responsibility for Indian lands, Industry Canada with responsibility for Aboriginal business development, and Human Resources Development Canada which, through the Pathways to Success Program, has the mandate to represent the training and employment interests of Aboriginal people...saw no obligation to cooperate in the development of a comprehensive Aboriginal Forest Strategy" (Bombay, March 1996:3).

Strategic Direction Seven has therefore not been entirely realized.

In the FSC Canada system, aboriginal and treaty rights are currently being discussed under one of its principles, principal number three, which states: "the legal and customary right of indigenous people to own, use and manage their land, territories and resources shall be recognized and respected" (FSC, 2002). The principle contains the following stipulations:

> 3.1 Indigenous peoples shall control forest management on their lands and territories unless they delegate control with free and informed consent to other agencies
> 3.2 Forest management shall not threaten or diminish, either directly or indirectly, the resources or tenure rights of indigenous peoples.
> 3.3 Sites of special cultural, ecological, economic or religious significance to indigenous peoples shall be clearly identified in cooperation with such peoples and recognized and protected by forest managers.
> 3.4 Indigenous peoples shall be compensated for the application of their traditional knowledge regarding the use of forest species or management systems in forest operations. This compensation shall be formally agreed upon with their free and informed consent before forest operations commence (FSC, 2002).

Although both the CSA and FSC systems require aboriginal participation in consultation processes as well as the input of TK in setting values, criteria, indicators and objectives, there are four significant differences between the Canadian Council of Forest Ministers (CCFM) and the FSC standards that Smith (15 March, 2001) alludes to:

1) Aboriginal Values and Traditional Knowledge: The FSC goes further than the CSA to recommend that aboriginal peoples be compensated for their knowledge;

2) Aboriginal and Treaty Rights: The CSA only recognizes 'duly established' rights that are no different from those established in the Canadian Constitution which have had numerous shortcomings in the reorganization and upholding of those rights[10]. The FSC goes further by stating that aboriginal people have the right to "control forest management on their lands and territories unless they delegate control with free and informed consent to other agencies";

3) Decision-Making Structures: While the CSA is dominated by provincial and federal groups, in the FSC, governments will only be allowed to sit on the committee but not have a vote. In addition, the FSC has an aboriginal chamber along with the social, economic and environmental chambers, which are consistent with the international FSC structure;

4) Membership: Unlike the CSA that had NAFA as the only aboriginal representation, the FSC has numerous aboriginal groups who are active in the FSC. The FSC is also working on receiving endorsement from the Assembly of First Nations.

---- Paraphrased from Smith (15 March, 2001)

Although it is obvious that certification grew out of consumer demand for products that reflect sustainable practices, there is considerable debate about whether the criteria of certification systems reflect national values. For example, in a report by the CCFM, the CCFM states that the criteria and indicators 'reflect an approach to forest management that is based on…the view that an informed, aware, and *participatory* public is important in promoting sustainable forest management" (Bombay, March 1996:2 emphasis added). There is considerable question about whether the CSA was actually designed to consider First Nations, include public participation, or even if it reflects sustainable practices. Stanbury *et al.*, (1999) captures the main arguments:

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[10] In addition, Elliott (1999) notes that under the CSA, the final decision rests with the forest manager or owner (307). Elliott illustrates his point by citing a letter written to the Vice President of CSA on 15 March, 1996 signed by forty-three NGOs and First Nations representatives: "Stripped of rhetoric, the Z800 document bestows decision-making authority on the forest owner or manager on a wide variety of issues. This authority is essentially unilateral and extends to: defining the forest area to which the system applies, identifying the values to be managed, defining the goals, choosing the indicators and developing a forest plan. Z808 masks this

> First, certification is clearly described as a marketing tool to promote Canadian exports, rather than as a tool to improve forest management. Interestingly, there is no mention of certification under the sections of the strategy, which refers to the forest environment, forest management practices or public participation. Second, certification in Canada originated with industry and government, and the wording of commitments 4.12 and 4.13[11] show that the intention was for them to develop the programme. There was no mention of NGOs. Despite the fact that strategic direction seven of the strategy was aimed at increasing participation by Aboriginal people in forest management, their involvement in the development of a certification programme is not mentioned either. Clearly certification was a tool, which was intended to be developed and used by the dominant coalition in Canadian forest policy domains. Third, commitment 4.13, with its reference to a means of identifying and promoting Canadian forest products seems to imply that product labelling would be part of the programme. Finally, the implication of commitment 4.12 is that there would be an effort to gain international acceptance and recognition of the Canadian programme once it was developed (299).
>
> It should also be noted that the National Forest Strategy itself was related to a broader initiative taken by the federal Canadian Forest Service (then called Forestry Canada): the International Image Programme. This programme was established in 1991 to monitor and respond to criticisms of the Canadian forest products industry, particularly in Europe. One of the activities of this programme was to provide information material for use in the European markets. It has also been suggested by some analysts that the Canada Forest Accord, the National Forest Strategy and Canadian work in support for a Global forest convention and criteria and indicators for sustainable forest management were part of a coherent strategy under the International Image Programme led by Forestry Canada, aimed at responding to international (and to a lesser extent, domestic) criticisms of Canadian forest practices (Stanbury *et al.*, qtd. in Elliott, 1999: 299)

Elliott (1999) further illustrates this point through a 'chronology of the main events in the development of certification in Canada which points to the argument

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significant fact skillfully. Its authors have written all of these points in a passive voice". (Canadian Environmental Network, 1996).

[11] 4.12 Industry and governments will work cooperatively to pursue joint technical discussions aimed at internationalizing product standards, codes and certification procedures (Elliott, 1999: 299).

4.13 By 1995, industry and governments will develop and put into operation a means of identifying and promoting Canadian forest products that reflect our commitment to sustainable that certification in Canada was primarily developed to cater to international rather than domestic pressures (See table 4.4).

Given that Canada exports nearly 80 percent of its production to over 100 countries (Forest Products Association of Canada, Sept 2002:6) Canada has to cater to international pressures. Many groups such as the International Network of Forests and Communities (INFC) as well as numerous aboriginal groups across the country, however, are concerned that international trade has greater influence than do domestic concerns. One of the concerns is that international free trade policies of the World Trade Organization (WTO) that direct "economies toward exports rather than meeting local needs" (INFC, Nov 1999) might undermine sustainable practices and community values. The INFC believe that the WTO will "trade away our forests and communities" (INFC, Nov 1999).

Aboriginal groups, apprehensive that free trade could disregard their constitutional rights, have rallied the U.S. to pressure the Canadian government to revise its trade policies: On 14 September 2000 members of the British Columbia Interior Alliance and the Grand Council of the Crees (Eeyou Istchee) briefed the House Human Rights Caucus in Washington on the impacts of forestry and trade on aboriginals in Canada. A letter was circulated among the House Human Rights Caucus that called for the US Trade Representative to pressure Canada "...toward remedying both the direct and indirect subsidies to its timber industry in any further discussion on the Canada – U.S. timber trade". The letter states: "We cannot ignore the plight of people whose livelihoods depend on the very forest that provides timber to the U.S..."(Canada newswire, 14 Sept, 2000).

Similarly, on May 10, 2002, Bill Namagoose, Executive Director of the Grand Council of the Crees (Eeyou Istchee), stated: " . . . at the Summit of the Americas last month, the Canadian Government declared that human rights and the

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forests and environmentally sound technologies (National Forest Strategy Coalition, 1997 qtd. in Elliott, 1999: 299).

The material involved has been removed because of copyright restriction. The information removed was Table 4.4, a chronology of the main events in the development of certification in Canada. Source: Elliott (1999: 296-298)

The material involved has been removed because of copyright restriction. The information removed was Table 4.4, a chronology of the main events in the development of certification in Canada. Source: Elliott (1999: 296-298) environment would not be diminished through trade agreements, and yet this is exactly what will happen if Canada is allowed free access to the U.S. market. Quebec will continue logging in James Bay without any regard for the environment or the Crees. It is time for Canada to move beyond rhetoric" (Canada Newswire, 10 May, 2002).

Although FSC Canada, as Bombay (2001) asserts, 'raises the bar' (7), aboriginal and treaty rights have long been contentious issues and if reconciled with FSC certification, will truly be an accomplishment. Nevertheless, even if the issue of treaty rights is reconciled meaningful partnerships or consultations with industry and governments, and the capacity of First Nations to be involved in forestry[12] is not dependent on any certification system. Moreover, industries are not limited to the FSC certification system. The FSC does nevertheless reflect domestic concerns more than other certification systems, which is proven by the FSC's long and careful deliberations with groups from numerous sectors of the Canadian society.

4.3 Traditional Land Use and Occupancy Studies

4.3.1. An Overview of Traditional Land-Use and Occupancy Studies

TLUOS, that are used to demarcate and protect areas of aboriginal use and occupancy, have become increasingly popular over the last 25 years in Canada. TLUOS are unique in illustrating "…how the community fits into the larger region" (Harrington, 1994: 2). Most major industrial developments (mining, hydro and forestry) are located in areas occupied exclusively or predominantly by aboriginal people. Since maps play an important role in the allocation of land for private, public and commercial use, TLUOS can serve as a means to demarcate boundaries of aboriginal use and occupancy. To quote Bernard Nictschmann

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[12] The challenge remains the complexity and costs to implement certification systems which have "the potential to further exclude aboriginal communities from significant participation in forest management and operations" (Smith, 1998:10), due to the lack of organizational and human resource capacity of many First Nations.

(1995): "More indigenous territory can be reclaimed and defended by maps than by guns" (qtd. in Poole 1995:6).

The term 'use' refers to "...activities involving the harvest of traditional resources; things like hunting, trapping, fishing, gathering of medicinal plants and berry picking, and traveling to engage in these activities. For any given community or nation, use occurs over a specific geographic area" while 'occupancy' " . . . refers to the area, which...a particular group regards as its own by virtue of continuing use, habitation, naming and knowledge, and control" (Usher, *personal communication* in Tobias, 2000:18).

The distinction between 'use' and 'occupancy' is especially important during land claims processes because of overlapping boundaries between First Nations groups: there is less boundary overlap in land occupancy than in land use, therefore, disputes over overlapping territory can be reduced when use and occupancy are distinguished (*ibid*).

TLUOS are largely linked to aboriginal negotiations in land claims issues and impact assessment. Prior to the 1970s the lack of information about aboriginal territories gave non-natives the impression that aboriginal users did not significantly use the land. Further, subsistence activities of hunting, fishing and gathering were not considered economic activities because they were not geared toward the market (Weinstein, 1993: 2). The impacts of development on traditional lands were not given their due recognition and were " . . . addressed merely as recreational impacts (Weinstein, 1993:3).

Land-use research usually involves outside consultants to administer and often to conduct the study (Natcher, 2001:5). Participatory action research (PAR) methods can ensure that the views of the community are given primacy to:

> . . . facilitate the use of local knowledge in land use planning by linking the cultural, environmental and economic values as part of a community-driven decision making process. By employing collaboratively developed research designs, the knowledge and views of community residents can be incorporated

into the planning and assessment process in accordance with community norms and desires. Further, through training and capacity-building initiatives, PAR can facilitate a transfer of skills that can enable community members to assume control of the research once the consultants/academics leave the community; thus instilling as sense of project ownership that can empower and mobilize local initiatives in order to further their own self-defined development (Natcher, 2001:6).

PAR can also include the transfer of geomatic skills, or the " . . . elaboration of traditional mapping methodologies by advanced information technologies for the recording, storage, manipulation and analysis of geographical imagery . . . They comprise three technologies remote sensing, global positioning systems (GPS) and computer-based image manipulation and analysis" (Poole, 1995: 16) being transferred. Training programs are especially tailored toward the needs of First Nation students and communities (Beltgens, 1995). In order to advance the technical skills that would encourage the community's ability to participate in decision-making processes, it is expected that students themselves will train others in the community.

The transfer of technical skills in geomatics is becoming increasingly important especially in GIS. In 1995, for example approximately 30 First Nations communities were using GIS (Bird, 1995: 24). GIS is more flexible and less time-consuming than paper maps in recording changing spatial landscapes (Johnson, 1997: 5). Mapping techniques using GIS can assist in land claims, first, because they have the potential to provide a model that is more sympathetic to aboriginal views because it can provide a more holistic, integrated and ecologically based overview, and, second, because they:

> … can provide an air of scientific objectivity required within the legal system. A graphic representation or map is likely to enhance a court's understanding, synthesis and resolution of a land dispute … GIS, used in conjunction with a global positioning system (GPS) – a device that uses satellite signals to accurately pinpoint ground position in terms of global coordinate systems –can provide this precision mandated by the rigors of land claims and resource management (Johnson, 1997: 4).

Critical components of a TLUOS include: 1) a fair and cooperative process; 2) an investigation into the history of past stresses on the area as a result of previous and present impacts from federal, provincial legislation such as allotments to industry; 3) an evaluation of how industry may affect contemporary habitats in the area should be carried out to assess whether First Nations can continue their harvesting; and, 4) an evaluation of the resources harvested and its utility and, its cultural land-use formulas (Weinstein,1997:6).

TLUOS should not simply outline sites, treating them merely as salvage operations. Instead, recording the oral history is just as important as the oral history is a reflection of the communities' appreciation of the land (Kemp and Brooke, 1995: 27). Present, as well as past uses of the land need to be recorded, as many communities often use the land for contemporary purposes even though they may not practice a subsistence way of life.

The goal of TLUOS is not simply to create a product in stasis but to also create a tool that will aid in future planning. The TLUOS should therefore also reflect: 1) the means by which the plan will have a continuous effect on decisions and events of the planned region; 2) the procedure established to review, elaborate, and revise the plan itself (Kuhn and Duerden, 1996: 65-66).

4.3.2 Traditional Knowledge

TK " . . . is inseparable from the people who hold it, the land they live on, and the relationship they have developed with the land and waters. This knowledge is acquired and passed on to younger generation or to other people through a complex process of language, ceremonies, stories, roles and spirituality" (Garvin *et al.*, 2001:1).

TK also has an ecological component to it, which is why TK is often referred to as TEK, especially when indigenous and scientific observations are used together to explain ecological phenomena.

TEK, however, is not merely ecological but rooted in aboriginal cosmology and management of eco-systems. Johannes (1993) coined the term "Traditional Ecological Knowledge and Management Systems" ("TEKMS") to highlight that TK is intrinsically tied to the management of the resources (Johannes, 1993: 33). Management of resources is part and parcel of everyday life and passed down by "...unwritten rules or social norms that govern native hunting, fishing and trapping...(through) word of mouth (often through stories) for generations. For the most part, compliance, based on cultural values, ethics, and taboos, has been high" (Johannes, 1993: 4).

In the mid-1980s, the study of TK systems began in two disciplines: ethno science and cultural ecology. Early explorations of traditional societies revealed that indigenous peoples around the world adapt to their environment (Mailhot, 1994:2). Several studies revealed congruity of indigenous systems to western ones, illustrating that traditional societies were much more similar to western systems of organization than previously thought. They revealed that:

- All cultures group plants and animals in categories which they organize in taxonomic structure
- There are universals in the logical procedures of classification and in the linguistic devices used to designate categories. For example, all biological taxonomies have five levels of contrast. At level 3 (corresponding to genus), categories are designated by non-analyzable terms (e.g. "maple"), while at level 4 (corresponding to species) they are designated by analyzable terms (e.g. "sugar maple");
- There is often a high degree of correspondence between scientifically established classes and indigenous categories; the fact that there are many resemblances between taxonomies at level 3 (genus), and progressively fewer at higher levels, is related to discontinuities which exist in nature;
- All human groups pursue knowledge of the universe, not only for strictly utilitarian purposes but also for the simple pleasure of knowing. Intellectual curiosity consequently cannot be regarded as the exclusive possession of scientists (Mailhot, 1994: 8-9).

Acquisition of data about the environment in TEKMS differs from western scientific paradigms in substantive ways, primarily in the ways in which environment data are acquired:

1. TEK is mainly qualitative (as opposed to quantitative);
2. TEK has an intuitive component (as opposed to being purely rational);
3. TEK is holistic (as opposed to reductionistic);
4. In TEK, mind and matter are considered together (as opposed to a separation of mind and matter)
5. TEK is moral (as opposed to supposedly value-free);
6. TEK is spiritual (as opposed to mechanistic);
7. TEK is based on empirical observations and accumulation of facts by trial-and error (as opposed to experimentation and systematic deliberate accumulation of fact);
8. TEK is based on data generated by resource users themselves (as opposed to by a specialized cadre of researchers);
9. TEK is based on diachronic data, i.e., long time-series of information in one locality (as opposed to synchronic date, i.e. short time-series over a large area) (Berkes,1993: 4).

The western knowledge system, characterized by written laws, rules, and regulations made and administered by governments (state, provincial, territorial or federal) to manage common property resources (Osherenko, 1988: 3):

> … is based on a scientific accumulation, organization, and interpretation of data, and management of problems are resolved in a technical, historical and 'value-free' framework. This system of management is bureaucratic, which is to say hierarchically organized and vertically compartmentalized. For example, managers are distinct from harvesters, authority is centralized and flows from the top down, and separate units are designed to manage individual components of the environment.

There are numerous cases where TEK has contradicted scientific theories and proven to be accurate by science itself, illustrating the value of TEK [See Freeman (1992) and (1989)]. Although these examples illustrate TEK's sophistication and accuracy, TEK should not be taken out of the cosmology of which it is a part to be incorporated into western paradigms. It is often the case, however, that "...a selective use of TEK" and a 'translation into scientific/rational framework' occur (Kuhn and Duerden, 1996: 77) when it is taken from the local community to be used in land claims, environmental assessments, land-use planning and the like.

4.3.3 Sustainable Forestry and Traditional Land-Use and Occupancy Studies

Incorporation of TEK in forestry is radically different in nature than those of previous wildlife management schemes in Canada as indigenous users of the wildlife resource can more easily participate in wildlife management decisions because they have considerable knowledge about migration patterns and biological information.

Although SFM today means that wildlife and other socioeconomic variables should be considered in addition to the harvesting of trees thereby increasing the potential to integrate TK through TLUOS, it is often the case that TLUOS are treated as separate entities to the TK, and represented as dots on a map where harvesting is to be avoided (Hickey and Natcher, 1999: 178).

According to Dickerson and Ross, the impact of TLUOS has been limited (2000: i). Further studies are currently underway to analyze the impact that TLUOS has had on Aboriginal communities (Dickerson and Ross 2000:1).

4.3.4 National Policy Initiatives to Enhance First Nations in Sustainable Forest Management

Provincial and Federal governments have initiated numerous policies that were designed to encourage First Nations participation in SFM. These include the FNFP that was designed to enhance capacity development of First Nation communities, the Model Forest Program that recognizes the value of the participation of First Nations in all aspects of SFM, and the SFM Network, a national research program with a research focus aimed at enhancing aboriginal participation in SFM through the setting of priorities that included capacity development and accommodation of aboriginal and treaty rights.

4.3.4.1 First Nation Forestry Program

In April 1996 the federal government initiated a FNFP that is designed to improve the economic conditions in aboriginal communities with full consideration of the principles of sustainable forest management. Unlike previous Canadian forest programs, the FNFP is a unique program that focuses on the development of First Nations peoples using capacity building initiatives rather than merely focusing on developing forest resources which was characteristic of previous aboriginal programs in forestry (Canadian Forest Service: 1998:v). The objectives of the FNFP are:

1) to enhance the capacity of First Nations to operate and participate in forest-based businesses leading to an increase in the number and size of such businesses and long-term forestry jobs for First Nation members;
2) to increase First Nation co-operation and partnerships;
3) to investigate the feasibility of trust funds, capital pools or similar mechanisms that may be created to help finance First Nations forestry development; and,
4) to enhance the capacity of First Nations to sustainably manage reserve forests (Canada, June 1999: 5).

First Nations work in partnership with Natural Resources Canada (NRCan) and Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC). The Canadian Forest Service (CFS), a sector within NRCan provides the infrastructure and professional expertise for coordination and implementation. There are also management committees in each province and territory that request, review and approve projects (*ibid*).

The FNFP has numerous success stories from the projects it funds and advises, from business planning, training, TLUOS, to non-timber forest products.

4.3.4.2 Canada's Model Forest Program

The Model Forest Program emerged as a concept in the 1990s and was implemented in 1992 by the Government of Canada. Canada's Model Forest Program is part of the International Model Forest Program that was declared at the Rio Earth Summit. Currently there are also Model Forests sites in Chile, Mexico, the United States, Russia, China, Japan, Indonesia, Myanmar, Philippines, Thailand, Argentina and Malawi.

Model Forests are chosen sites, presently consisting of eleven sites across Canada, where cultural and ecological values are incorporated into forest management plans in partnership with local communities (See Fig 4.1). Representatives of the Model Forest Program include: "environmental organizations, native groups, industry, educational and research institutions, all levels of government, community-based associations, recreation lists, and landowners" (Armstrong, April 2000).

Consideration of aboriginal people in the Model Forest Program was determined from the outset. Eight out of the eleven Model Forest Programs have aboriginal communities as partners. In 1997 the Waswanipi Cree were awarded the most recent Model Forest in northern Quebec. In addition to exploring the concepts and practices of SFM, the Model Forest Program is exploring integrative approaches characteristic of partnerships. According to NAFA, however, with the exception of two Model Forest Programs, First Nation communities continue to have apprehensions and dissatisfaction about the program primarily because the processes incorporate them as just another stakeholder (Smith, March 2000: 14).

4.3.4.3 The Sustainable Forest Management Network

The SFM Network is a national research program hosted by the University of Alberta and funded by federal and provincial governments as well as by industry and First Nations partners. SFM Network's overall goal is to develop knowledge, strategies and tools to ensure that Canada's forests are effectively managed, such that biological diversity will be preserved and the resource base will be sustained for future generations. The training of highly qualified personnel is a critical component, and all SFM Network projects involve training. Partnerships are strongly encouraged. SFM Network projects are aimed at improved

The material involved has been removed because of copyright restriction. The information removed was Figure 4.1, a map illustrating the locations of model forests of Canada. Source: The Canadian Model Forest Network. http://www.modelforest.net/e/home_/canadase.html communications and the transfer of knowledge from researchers to practitioners and forest managers.

The SFM Network is currently entering Phase II of its mandate, where it intends to pursue the following initiatives:

- Building on Phase I results, the focus will be on developing strategies and tools to promote ecological, economic and social sustainability.
- Better monitoring protocols and indicators of sustainability will be developed and applied to assist Canadian industry in satisfying international market demands for environmental concerns.
- An emphasis on policy analysis will better inform policy-makers, and both networking and research will be aimed at capacity-building in forest-based and Aboriginal communities.
- The Network will enhance its links with international, national and provincial research organizations to firmly place Canada in the first wave of research-management linkage in forestry.
- Early successes in training highly qualified personnel will be reinforced by strengthening the interdisciplinary research environment and involving more committed partner networks to ensure that Canadian forestry remains strongly knowledge-based and responsive to innovation in the area of sustainability.
- High priority is placed on transferring knowledge and technology into active forest management.
- Overall, the Network intends to evolve into a national, independent research institute that provides the science and innovation to sustain Canada's forest resources and the people who depend on them.

--- SFM Network (Strategic Plan)

The SFM Network has nine research areas, one of which focuses on aboriginal issues. This is called Sustainable Aboriginal Communities (SAC) Research Area. The objectives of SAC research include:

1. Integration of aboriginal institutions, knowledge and values into Sustainable Forest Management.
2. Accommodation of aboriginal and treaty rights.
3. Aboriginal economic and capacity building.
4. Aboriginal criteria and indicators for SFM (*ibid*)

Clifford Hickey, leader of SAC, believes that the federal government "...is using the SFM Network as one way to respond to the Royal Commission of aboriginal people" to enhance and explore partnerships between First Nation and the forest industry so that aboriginal people have a meaningful role in forest management and operations (Hickey, *personal communication*: 01/17/02).

There have been and continue to be numerous successful projects across the country that have increased awareness as well as participation of aboriginal issues in SFM through networks that extend across 29 universities, six governments, 12 forest companies, four First Nations, and other organizations including the Lake Abitibi Model Forest, Manitoba Model Forest, NAFA and CFS (SFM Network, Fact Sheet).

4.4 Evaluating First Nations Participation in Sustainable Forest Management

Initiatives for SFM in Canada have provided another means through which to advocate First Nations treaty rights. The adoption of the NFS that brought federal and provincial governments together has broken through the institutional barrier by addressing First Nations issues, a federal mandate, in forestry, a provincial mandate. The NFS is currently working to tackle the resolution of aboriginal and treaty rights and their interpretation in forestry policy in the renewal of the NFS strategy (2003-2008).

Fundamental barriers to the incorporation of First Nations in SFM remain, and it can be argued that these are also a reflection the barriers toward achieving SFM in Canada. These barriers are:

1) The determination of the Allowable Annual Cut (AAC) of timber on Crown land that is allocated to forest companies. In summary, the calculations for the AAC:

> . . . are not transparent and in the end they are a political exercise. In addition, AAC calculations are not based on principles of sustainable forest management". [As a consequence] AAC calculations do not take

> into account Aboriginal values and uses and Cut requirements focus on extraction of maximum volumes of timber and do not take adequate account of Aboriginal forest land uses, especially non-timber based activities (Ross and Smith, 2002: 7-10);

2) The process of allocating long-term tenures:

   > . . . that is the outcome of private negotiations between government and industry [that lacks] ...consultation with Aboriginal peoples at the stage of allocation of forest tenures" (Ross and Smith, 2002: 14-15).

3) The Requirement to build and operate a mill as a condition of tenure allocation (mill appurtenacy requirement):

   > . . . restricts access of Aboriginal communities to long-term area-based tenures (Ross and Smith, 2002: 18-20).

SFM in Canada seems to be better characterized by an increase in pressure for the participation of aboriginal peoples in forestry rather than by national structural changes leading to SFM. Even the NAFA has moved its policy focus from sustainable forest management to advising aboriginal groups on how to best negotiate better timber deals with industry and government (Chambers, 1999:22).

5.0 Capacity Development in Cross-cultural Collaboration for Sustainable Forest Management

5.1 Exploring the Meaning of Capacity Development

CD as an approach to establishing sustainable aboriginal communities has gained tremendous momentum in the past two decades, to the extent that virtually all agendas of governments and international organizations working in Canada call for adherence to CD. Although governments and international agencies have always been concerned about enhancing development of those communities in which they invest tremendous amount of time, money and expertise, everything about CD is different because "...the recent popularization of the term [CD] reflects fundamental discontent with approaches that dominated thought and action in development assistance from the 1950s through the mid 1990s" (Schacter, Jan 2000: 2). The concept of CD consequently arose as a recognition that local processes were just as crucial to consider as national and international concepts of sustainable development.

CD is difficult to grasp as building capacity could mean the donation of materials, (such as computers or tractors), formal or informal training and education, or the delegation of responsibilities once held by outside organizations to communities. It is not surprising, then, that numerous definitions of CD abound in the literature. Taking away the haze over the plethora of meanings of CD would reveal that the underlying meaning is essentially development occurring through a shared vision between all levels of society that aims to empower local resources, people and their social, economic and political institutions through a process of "learning by doing" (Horton, July 2002:5).

The learning by doing approach suggests that CD is largely an internally prescribed process. In order for the internal process to administer CD effectively, external agencies are crucial to incorporate and work *collaboratively* with because of the resources, knowledge and creativity that they can bring to the partnership, which can: 1) strengthen the local institutions to manage their own environments based on their contextual social, economic and political situation, and initiating change in an adaptable manner; 2) strengthen the capacity of external organizations to work with the respective community so that they can work in a collaborative atmosphere with the local community; 3) enhance the capacity of private, national and international programming to be more responsive to local needs.

Table 5.1 illustrates the different elements of CD as well as how CD differs from past and current practices of development. Table 5.1 was adapted from the executive summary to the book "Capacity for Development, New Solutions to Old Problems", edited by Fukuda-Parr, Lopes and Malik (2002). This book is a compilation of articles by eminent development professionals and economists who investigate how effectively the recommendations of National Technical Cooperation Assessment Programmes (NaTCAP) were implemented in the past decade. Technical Cooperation Programmes (TCP) was developed as an instrument of the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) in 1976 to respond more rapidly to the urgent technical needs of member nations. Characteristics of TCP are its:

> . . . unprogrammed and urgent character; its flexibility in responding to new technical issues and problems; speed in approval; clear focus; limited project intervention with short duration; low costs; practical orientation; and catalytic role. By design and in practice, the TCP meets unforeseen needs, fills crucial gaps, complements other forms of assistance, and promotes resource availability for technical cooperation in the above fields, whether channelled through FAO or otherwise . . . Requests for Technical Assistance under the Programme may be presented by Governments of Member Countries, which qualify for development assistance under the UN system and by inter-governmental organizations of which such countries are members, and are recognized as such, by the UN System and FAO. They may also be submitted by national non-government organizations (NGOs), if endorsed by the Government concerned (FAO, In Brief section, para. 3).

In 1990 the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) led an in-depth review of TCP in Africa. Over 30 governments of Africa gave reviews of the

TABLE 5.1. PARADIGM FOR CAPACITY DEVELOPMENT

	Old Paradigm Of Development	Current Paradigm of CD	New Paradigm Of CD
Nature of Development	Improvements in economic and social conditions of recipient country	Improvements in economic and social conditions of recipient country	In partnerships involving donor, recipient and other relevant organizations focus on processes of CD: Social transformation, including building of "right capacities"
Conditions for effective development cooperation	Good policies that can be externally prescribed	Good policies that can be externally prescribed	Good policies that have to be homegrown. Focus on approaches of capacity building.
The asymmetric donor-recipient relationship	Moving money and expatriate workers.	Should be countered generally through a spirit of partnership and mutual respect	Should be specifically addressed by taking countervailing measures.
Process of Development	Institution building, institutional development, human resources development, development management/administration and institutional strengthening	Human resource development, combined with stronger institutions	Systemic approach: Three cross-linked layers of capacity: individual, institutional and societal
Acquisition of Knowledge	Priority not given to transferring or acquiring of knowledge. Skilled expatriate workers retained and apply knowledge	Knowledge transferred rather than acquired.	Recipient acquires technical knowledge. Focus on process of learning based on contextual circumstances.
Most important forms of knowledge	Knowledge developed in the North for application to the South	Knowledge developed in the North for export to the South	Local knowledge combined with knowledge acquired from other countries-in the South or the North

----- adapted from Fukuda-Parr, Lopes and Malik, 2002: 20.

effectiveness of TCPs. The results were published in the book "Rethinking Technical Cooperation: Reforms to Capacity Building in Africa" in 1993 (Fukuda-Parr, Lopes and Malik, 2002:4). The study concluded that "…technical cooperation had proven effective in getting the job done, but less effective at developing local institutions or strengthening local capacities; and that it was expensive, donor-driven, often served to heighten dependence on foreign experts, and distorted national priorities" (ibid).

Although efforts were made after the mid 1990s to move in the direction of CD, the 2002 UNDP study suggests that at the TCP level, the changes have not been significant. These problems are summarized in table 5.1 under the column of 'Current Paradigm' and are contrasted to ideal processes of development summarized under 'New Paradigm'. Table 5.1 also illustrates the relationship of past approaches to CD under 'Old Paradigm', since CD surfaced as a direct result of discontent as well as through experiment and experiences with past technical cooperation (TC) approaches, and drew upon the lessons learned from them.

Since the 1950s different development themes emerged characteristic not only of the technical cooperation program (TCP) but also national initiatives toward development. These include: institution building, institutional development, human resources development, development management/administration and institutional strengthening (Lusthaus, Adrien and Perstinger, September 1999:1). Earlier development process was generally described as a transfer of skills and expertise to the recipient country to fill the necessary gaps for the smooth transition toward development. Knowledge was developed in the "North" for application in the "South" rather than building the capacity of local communities so that they could manage their own affairs (Fukuda-Parr, Lopes and Malik, 2002: 3).

Building on previous approaches, CD consists of four different approaches:

1) the organizational approach, which focused on building capacity at the level of individual organizations;
2) the institutional approach, which focused on the processes and rules that

govern socio-economic and political organization in society at large;

3) the systems approach[13], which emphasized the interdependencies among social actors and the need to promote capacity building in a holistic way; and
4) the participatory process approach, which emphasized ownership and participation as fundamental elements of CD (Lusthaus, Adrien and Perstinger (1999) qtd. in Lavergne and Saxby, Jan 2001:2).

5.1.1 Elements of Capacity Development

Table 5.1 is a framework to analyze the intricacies of CD:

1. Nature of Development

Rather than allowing development to be driven by supply (the donor), the recipient sets its own priorities and, in contrast to the time constraints imposed by donor countries, establishes its own momentum for societal transformation. In other words, CD should " . . . be endogenous process through which a society changes its rules, institutions and standards of behavior, increases its level of social capital and enhances its ability to respond, adapt and exert discipline on itself' (ECDPM, Introduction section, para. 1). CD processes should therefore focus on building the right capacity to enhance this momentum toward achieving self-sufficiency.

2. Conditions for Effective Development Cooperation

Policies that are homegrown rather than externally prescribed are more inclined to consider local values, capacities and institutions that when empowered can provide some assurance for the sustainability of the projects once the outside expertise leaves the community.

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[13] Although "Organizations *are* systems…the systems approach refers to a global concept that is multilevel, holistic and interrelated, in which each system and part is linked to another. … Systems extend beyond the individual and organizational levels to systems of organization, their interfaces and the institutions that guide them . . . often the institutional framework dictates how the different elements of the system interact" (Lusthaus, Adrien and Perstinger, 1999: 7).

On a practical level, not all communities carry on their day-to-day activities with a vision of how those activities contribute to the goals of CD. 'Homegrown policies' may consequently have their problems, in that they may only perpetuate the very institutional or social problems that the communities are already experiencing. The applied anthropologist, as a sympathetic and knowledgeable outsider, can assist in reducing that danger.

'Homegrown policies' have to go through an adaptive process to ensure that they are not misguided. Lavergne and Saxby (Jan 2001) highlight a set of 'core capacities', referring to the creativity, resourcefulness and capacity to learn and adapt that individuals, organizations or society as a whole need for effective development cooperation:

- to be guided by key values and a sense of purpose;
- to define and analyse their environment and their own place in the greater scheme of things;
- to define the issues and reach working agreements on purposes or mandates;
- to manage and resolve conflicts;
- to formulate strategies;
- to plan, and act on those plans;
- to acquire and mobilize resources;
- to learn new skills and approaches on a continuous basis;
- to build supporting relationships with other parties;
- to assess performance and make adjustments;
- to meet new challenges proactively, by adjusting agendas, approaches and strategies (2).

CD has to be pursued with a systemic perspective " . . . i.e. a systematic recognition of the importance of thinking about individuals, organizations, programs, policies, etc. as part of a broader whole rather than as discrete, or loosely connected concerns" (Bolger (2000) qtd. in Lavergne and Saxby, Jan 2001: 4). Consequently, "...attention must be given to the limiting factors that constrain systems performance" (Baser and Bolger, 1996:2). One such barrier is the asymmetric donor-recipient relationship.

3. The Asymmetric Donor-Recipient Relationship

Despite the fact that technical cooperation implies partnership, the reality is that development is more often characterized by hierarchy and inequality than as an equal partnership, with the primary barrier to cooperation being that "…the incentives and interests of the stakeholders – donors, consultants, governments and local communities – often diverge widely" (Fukuda-Parr, Lopes and Malik, 2002: 11). Rather than being misled by the use of terms such as 'cooperation' or 'partnership', countervailing measures should be taken to promote cooperation, which can ultimately lead to the 'ownership' of the development processes by local communities. Measures should consider the fact that recipient governments still "…find themselves locked into a cycle of dependency and conformity", because they "…have a strong incentive to conform to what donors propose" (Fukuda-Parr, Lopes and Malik, 2002: 12). Donors too have pressures to conform and control funds for which they are accountable (Fukuda-Parr, Lopes and Malik, 2002: 11). Countervailing methods could include "pooling technical cooperation funds and developing forums for discussion among southern nations"(Fukuda-Parr, Lopes and Malik, 2002: 19).

4. Process of Development

Under the old paradigm, technical assistance meant that expatriate workers filled gaps in important skills and abilities (Fukuda-Parr, Lopes and Malik: 2002: 2). In the past decade CD focused on human resources and the building of stronger institutions. That is inefficient, however, as CD does not only mean improving skills but also enhancing the ability of people to use those skills (Fukuda-Parr, Lopes and Malik, 2002: 9). To do this successfully, CD should be addressed at three interdependent levels:

Individual: This involves enabling individuals to embark on a continuous process of learning —building on existing knowledge and skills, and extending these in new directions as fresh opportunities appear.

Institutional: This too involves building on existing capacities. Rather than trying to construct new institutions, such as agricultural research centres or legal aid centres, on the basis of foreign blueprints, governments and donors instead need to seek out existing initiatives, however nascent, and encourage these to grow.

Societal: This involves capacities in the society as a whole, or a transformation for development. An example is creating the kinds of opportunities, whether in the public or private sector, that enable people to use and expand their capacities to the fullest. Without such opportunities, people will find that their skills rapidly erode, or become obsolete. And if they find no opportunities locally, trained people will join the brain drain and take their skills overseas (Fukuda-Parr, Lopes and Malik, 2002: 9).

5. Acquisition of Knowledge

It was not until the early 1990s that donor programs focused on the transfer of skills and knowledge. Although current paradigms do acknowledge the importance of transferring knowledge, the type of skills transferred derive mostly from routine training, which lacks the depth of on-the-job learning and, mentoring with consistent interaction and learning (Fukuda-Parr, Lopes and Malik: 2002:13). Fukuda-Parr, Lopes and Malik state: "most useful knowledge is tacit . . .which enables people to size up new situations and take the appropriate action, [this knowledge] cannot be delivered in a simple package"(2002:13). Knowledge therefore also has to be acquired rather than merely transferred.

6. Most Important Forms of Knowledge

Despite the NaTCAP's recommendation that future studies should integrate local knowledge, the study illustrated that this has not occurred at the macro level. Instead, knowledge is still developed in the North for export to the South. As a consequence development schemes are hindered in the long term, because they do not recognize the value or even the superiority of local knowledge. In February 2002, UNDP held a roundtable discussion devoted entirely to the issue of CD. Number eight of the action points stated:

Change the terms of the North-South dialogue: Partnership implies an end to the preponderant 'North-South' axis of dialogue. And transparency, frank dialogue and genuine engagement should be demonstrated by all development partners. Forums for the exchange of experience and information on TC and CD practices among developing countries are needed, initiated and owned by the countries concerned (UNDP, 2002: 5)

5.2 Evaluating Capacity Development Strategies

Unlike traditional economic development models CD cannot be expressed as a statistical measure since it cannot be understood purely as an economic variable. Although CD considers the traditional economic parameters of GDP, infant mortality rates, etcetera, CD processes must recognize that the socio-cultural parameters that make up institutions and organizations are critical elements to determining economic outcomes. The process of CD that requires the integration of local, national, and international priorities necessitates cross-cultural and cross-sectoral adaptation. Taschereau (1997), for example, describes CD as "...the process by which individuals, groups, organizations, institutions and societies increase their abilities to understand and deal with their development needs in a broad context and in a sustainable manner" (qtd. in ECDPM, First section, para.5).

CD requires a substantial transformation of existing mechanisms of cooperation between local communities and their governments, as well as between local communities, their governments, and international bodies. Many indigenous communities across the world have been plagued by a history of assimilation and alienation that has undermined local capacities, cultures and management structures of their land and resources. CD therefore places an enormous responsibility on local communities to reorganize and prioritize their objectives so that they have clear organizational structures that are transparent and accountable, so that development is driven by demand rather than by donors. Cultures are never static but are constantly changing to adapt to new circumstances and knowledge. Therefore, even if today there was a complete reversal of past strategies that undermined local institutions and cultures cultural evolution cannot be reversed. Most, if not all, communities are linked to national organizations.

The learning-by-doing approach characteristic of CD suggests that local, national and international bodies must understand local cultures, to be able to put local priorities on the agenda, while working with those local communities to strengthen their capacity. This can be a tenuous situation, as there is a fine line between strengthening capacities and directing development. CD requires significant time, patience, experiment and innovation, otherwise progress may distort priorities and lead to misunderstandings. It is essential therefore that local, national and international organizations work together in a culturally adaptable manner to understand the intricacies of the differing cultures, and their knowledge. One way of ensuring culturally adaptable strategies is through the development of criteria and indicators and monitoring and evaluations (Dalal-Clayton *et al.*, 1994:9).

Despite UNDP's simple definition of capacity development to mean "the ability to perform functions, solve problems, and set and achieve objectives" (UNDP (1997) qtd. in ECDPM, Introduction section, para. 12), CD remains a highly complex concept in application. Indeed, it is so complex that numerous agencies, including UNDP, are exploring the complexities of how best to encourage participatory and adaptive processes. The roundtable discussion by the UNDP held on February 2002 on CD stated that technical cooperation has not significantly addressed CD and advised that "…steps should be taken as soon as possible to begin implementing practices and principles of capacity development" (UNDP, 2002: 5).

CD, which requires any group, be it from a developed or developing country, to adapt, learn and encourage a participatory process, is probably more practical to implement at the micro levels, given that there are significant bureaucratic constraints at the macro level. At the micro level, such as in partnerships between industry and a community, or between aid agencies and a community, for example, there are lesser bureaucratic challenges and political issues. The enormous amount of time and effort required to pursue the CD objectives, as well as to monitor and evaluate the successes, can also be better managed at the micro level. Partnerships, however, do not exist in a vacuum and therefore their action environments as well as the public sector institutional context have to be congenial to CD. The "action environment" refers to:

> . . . the economic, social, and political milieux in which organizations attempt to carry out their activities and the extent to which conditions in the action environment facilitate or constrain performance…[such as] the level and growth rate of GNP, conditions in international markets for commodities and capital, conditions in the labor market, the level of development of the private sector, and the nature and extent of development assistance impinge on virtually all activities carried out by government (Hildebrand and Grindle,1994: 8).

And, the "public sector institutional context" refers:

> . . . to the institutional environment within the public sector that facilitates or constrains organizational activities and affects their performance…[this] includes the laws and regulations affecting the civil service and the operation of government, such as hiring, promotion, and remuneration policies, general operating procedures, and standards of performance. It includes the financial and budgetary support that allows organizations to carry out particular tasks. It also includes the policies in effect that constrain or hinder the achievement of particular development tasks (ibid)

Additionally, micro level organizations are also affected by other organizations that they work with. The interactions with other organizations can either work to hinder or promote the accomplishment of objectives (Hildebrand and Grindle, 1994: 9).

In environments congenial to CD, partnerships develop institutional and human resource development (HRD) capacity but must also consider such issues "…as norms, cultural values, incentive systems and beliefs" (Lusthaus, Adrien and Perstinger, 1999: 7). Monitoring and evaluating CD is therefore necessary in order to assess and manage strategies in order that capacity development "…be seen as a set of co-ordinated mechanisms and processes to help society work toward sustainable development – not as 'master plans' which will get out of date" (IIED, UNDP and UK DFID, 2002: 1).

The institutional framework for CD at all levels will require the building of competences for operating in a cross-cultural context (adapted from Hofstede

(1983) qtd. in Higgs 1996:40). Partnerships can improve understanding of cross-cultural understanding through:

1) Building awareness: of own culture; of cultural differences;
2) Developing knowledge: of the impact of cultural differences; of the relative strengths and weaknesses of different cultures in a managerial setting;
3) Building skills: identifying the impact of different cultural settings for managerial problems; adapting behaviors to achieve effective results in different cultural settings (summary of Hofstede's (1983) framework for building competences qtd. in Higgs 1996: 40).

5.3 Capacity Development in Industry/First Nations Collaboration in the Canadian Forest Industry

As discussed in Chapter Three, at the societal level in Canada, despite the many barriers at the institutional levels, the federal and provincial governments have transferred considerable responsibility to industry to collaborate with First Nations. All of these events have created important niches for a dialogue between industry, governments and First Nations.

Given the novelty of CD, there are few comprehensive studies in the Canadian forest industry on industry/First Nations collaboration. IOG and NAFA provide some comprehensive studies on aboriginal/industry partnerships in forestry. The lack of detailed case studies of aboriginal/industry CD in the forestry sector required even IOG and NAFA to rely on international experiences and research (NAFA and IOG, 2000: 40).

Studies from around the world are not only based on different cultural contexts, but also on social and political contexts that are radically different for the unique processes that have shaped aboriginal participation in the forest industry. IOG produced an inventory of best practices after interviewing 29 of the largest forest industry firms across Canada to gain insights into industry practices with respect to aboriginal communities. The inventory was organized under six headings: Organization; Policies; Employment and Training; Aboriginal Business Development; Forest Stewardship; Relationship with Communities. Table 5.2 summarizes the inventory in the form of a table, and illustrates the proactive role that many forest industries across Canada are playing in collaborating with aboriginal peoples.

A joint study by NAFA and IOG (2000) on aboriginal-forest sector partnerships, summarized in Table 5.3, illustrates that CD should not mean that initiatives be focused only on enhancing the economic capacities of aboriginal communities, but that it should also encourage the enhancement of cooperation between all parties.

Since strategies of CD differ depending on the institution and the needs of the community, providing paradigms such as IOG's (1999) and NAFA and IOG's (2000) work is an effective way to share information on the underlying issues of CD. A quick inspection of the priorities of CD provided by the Commission on Sustainable Development (CSD) illustrates that the Canadian forest industry has been addressing CD. Priorities of CD described by the CSD (Jan, 1997) include: A commitment to devising flexible strategies that are 'learning oriented'; Connections made between "...broader strategic aspects of capacity building and their operational implications" (9); Effective communication; Information exchange; efforts that do "...not stop after sustainable development strategies have been formulated, since the implementation of such strategies requires continuous support and motivation at the regional level" (10); "support for institutional and professional evaluations, compilations of best practice, needs assessments and training programmes" (9). Given the increasingly important role that educational institutions are playing in sustainable development, the CSD also advises that researchers and all workers be aware of CD (CSD, Jan, 1997: 10).

TABLE 5.2 SUMMARY OF INDUSTRY BEST PRACTICES

Best Practices	Summary/General
Organization	Identify a responsibility center for overseeing relations with aboriginal peoples; Appoint aboriginal persons to Board of Directors; Establish shared acquisition systems with aboriginal communities
Policies	Set guidelines, policies, and principles in place to guide relations to allow for consistent treatment, clarify, account for corporate interests of the company and provide a clear standard of behavior for aboriginal communities.
Employment & Training	Develop policies guidelines and procedures; Track what the company has learned from its employment and training activities; Set up tracking systems related to hiring, retaining and promoting
Aboriginal Business Development	Develop policies, guidelines and procedures; Track what the company has learned; Set up tracking systems related to aboriginal contracting; Develop business relationships based on aboriginal cutting rights and access to logs.
Forest Stewardship	Establish co-operative management processes with aboriginal communities to address forest management planning, including setting out long-term objectives, establishing a technical planning committee on employment, management and business opportunities, guarantee continued access to wood; Comply with legal requirements imposed by provinces; Identify aboriginal interests in forest management planning processes.
Relationship with Communities	Develop sensitization programs for application in non-aboriginal communities; Develop corporate principles to guide relations; Identify people and operations within the company to manage implementation of the principles; Create processes to measure progress; Take steps to understand aboriginal culture; Establish formal mechanisms for including communities in decisions.

---paraphrased from IOG, 1999b

TABLE 5.3. OBSERVATIONS ON KEY ISSUES IN ABORIGINAL-FOREST SECTOR PARTNERSHIPS

Lessons for future collaboration	Action
Taking better advantage Of growing opportunities for Partnerships	Knowledge of each other – improving First Nations knowledge of industry through workshops ; Knowledge about partnerships, options and experience of others-design partnership structures appropriate for the situation; Determining community priorities-innovative methods to incorporate unique community values into business relationship; Best practices in business development, employment, training and protecting sensitive sites – to increase understanding for mechanisms for developing capacity.
Role of the government in Forging Aboriginal – Industry Partnerships	Provision of capital to complement limited aboriginal equity; Facilitation of co-management initiatives; Provision of Tenure and Forest Licenses; Assistance in gaining market access; Provision of training programs Forest research to address key aboriginal forest issues and support to partnership building, e.g. the Model Forest Program.
Benefits to Industry	Operational – access to aboriginal labor force, established knowledge of land base within the community, capital and infrastructure support to partnerships; Partnerships can be integral components of land claim settlements and to tenure arrangements which address aboriginal interests in certain lands thus bringing greater certainty to wood supply; aboriginal participation is a step toward Sustainable Forest Management and achievement of certification; Corporate image can be improved through sensitivity to social, environmental and Indigenous People's issues.
Role for other Actors	Potential value of NGOS and other actors to support aboriginal companies by negotiating and designing partnerships, giving advice, acting as a broker and, facilitating aboriginal-forest industry partnerships.

—paraphrased from NAFA and IOG, 2000: 82-85

In addition to government and industry's role in enhancing CD, First Nations communities also have an important role to play. However, Many institutional barriers exist that have to be considered. Two primary barriers are: 1) Band Councillors usually take charge of economic development portfolios. Since the Chief and Councillors' terms of office usually last only two or three years, CD initiatives can be undermined when Councillors leave office; 2) Community participation can also be undermined in some cases by the contemporary situation of corruption and lack of accountability at the Band Council level.

Both of the preceding were addressed in the research by the RCAP:

> There is a widespread perception in some communities that their leaders rule rather than lead their people, and that corruption and nepotism are prevalent. Increasingly, Aboriginal people are challenging their leaders through a variety of means, including legal suits brought against leaders by individual members for alleged breaches of public governance and associated administrative policies. Over the past 100 years the act [i.e. the Indian Act] has effectively displaced, obscured or forced underground the traditional political structures and associated checks and balances that Aboriginal people developed over the centuries to suit their societies and circumstances. (RCAP, 1996: Volume 2, Part 1, 345-346).

The researcher to the RCAP consequently suggested that as a result of the corruption, including the scarcity and cost of skilled personnel, "...responsibility for programming should *not* be lodged at the level of individual Aboriginal, Metis, or Inuit communities" but that "...economic development programs [should be] at the level of the Aboriginal nation, confederation or provincial/territorial organization" (RCAP, 1996: Vol 2, Part 2, 838). The recommendation to have community development issues be supervised by a larger organization is surprising, because it leaves little or no room for potential community CD initiatives. The risk of the higher-level organization becoming bureaucratic and treating all aboriginal communities as a homogeneous group is high. Numerous examples from the literature also suggest that the success of CD lay in partnerships between the local, regional, national and international levels, with the most important partnerships being at the local or community level. The recommendation does, however, reflect the need for strong organizational structures at the community level.

It is important that First Nations encourage CD in their own communities, as the lack of effective collaboration between partners can result in partnerships existing in name rather than in reality. Building genuine partnerships requires the development of an organizational structure to manage the numerous aspects of CD. Managing CD should be seen as a priority as the cultures, priorities and values of industry and First Nations are radically different. The business organization typified by industry is radically different to that of an aboriginal community. Ignoring the cultural differences can create barriers at the community/industry interface and cause collaboration to come to a complete halt. Integrating two or more groups necessitates dealing with one's own organization and those of another. If the integration of similar enterprises is difficult, then the integration of community and industry values is even more complicated. Formulating a working structure means resolving the cross-cultural collaboration issues of the two diverse organizations as each organization has its own expectations on how business is conducted.

Persistent problems of alcohol and drug abuse, poverty and a lack of educated and skilled persons, which are some of the current socio-economic barriers in many First Nations communities, can pose limitations to the CD as outlined in this thesis's framework for effective First Nation/Industry cooperation. In that case, it may be more suitable for a partnership to work under a paradigm that focuses more on addressing those socio-economic concerns.

6.0 A Framework for Effective Collaboration for Socio-economic Partnerships

The framework for effective collaboration I develop here builds on Fukuda-Parr, Lopes and Malik's (2002) study on CD as well as NAFA's and IOG's studies on industry/First Nations collaboration. In addition, numerous studies from organizational development theorists are used to gain insight into training, development, education and learning in cross-cultural situations. Implicit in the choice of criteria for the framework are the case study findings.

The underlying goal of the framework is the enhancement of traditional and economic values in the forest landscape of the First Nations group in a socio-economic partnership[14]. The framework is organized to coordinate the partnership's numerous external interfaces (such as with governments, private agencies, researchers, and the organizations of industry and other First Nations) as well as the internal interfaces of industry/ First Nation/ partnerships in order to enhance CD.

The focus on CD does not take away the focus from economic justice but instead provides a strategy that focuses on economic justice issues, such as:

1) Developing the leadership skills of community residents;
2) Increasing the skill levels of people through job training;
3) Improving the education of community residents through experience and formal learning; and,
4) Encouraging the participation of aboriginal peoples and their knowledge in society.

The framework considers CD to include not only the enhancement of skills in economic development and the TLUOS, but also the enhancement of collaboration between the First Nations group and industry. The framework consequently proposes an institutional design of a committee to oversee CD in order to manage First Nations/industry relations as well as to build capacity in economic development and the TLUOS. The idea behind the committee arose from the work done on the partnership between MWFP and the AFN. Both parties agreed that the committee could serve as a neutral body to oversee and guide CD. The idea to have representatives from both industry and the First Nations group to sit on the committee arose from the successes of the committee established between the AFN and MWFP to manage CD and to effectively tie in external and internal agencies. Honda-McNeil's (2000) thesis on cooperative management in Alberta, which analyses the structural and functional elements of Memorandum of Understandings (MOUs), appears to be supportive of this idea. Honda-McNeil states: "Studies conducted by McCay (1989) and Dale (1989) support my proposition that successful cooperative management requires an "energy center" – that is "a dedicated person or group who applies consistent pressure to advance the process" (2000:107).

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[14] Refer to page 2 for the definition of a socio-economic partnership.

The enhancement of the capacity of the First Nations group to collaborate with industry is crucial since industry has tremendous expertise in forestry and also has existing networks with government and the private sector that can be strategic to CD. The CD strategies proposed are designed to assist both industry and the First Nations group to work together, and to empower the First Nations group by enhancing the integration of its cultural and economic values relating to the forest into forest management plans. This is to be done through a process of building culturally adaptable strategies that are flexible and adaptable to the social, political and economic context on which the partnership is based.

Honda-McNeil concludes his thesis by stating that the formal arrangement of MOUs "...has proven to be an effective mechanism to become familiar with government processes, to generate economic development, to train staff and develop capacity, to solve petty or significant operational irritations, and above all, to have increased say in resource management. Having said that, much work needs to be done to improve the MOUs as a vehicle for meaningful consultation" (2000: 119). Honda-McNeil argues that the formal arrangement "places too much emphasis on the need for formal shared decision-making authority" (2000:118) that does little to bridge the gap between industry and First Nations (2000:119).

This thesis can be viewed as building on, among other things, Honda-McNeil's research since it focus on the *processes* of integrated management with the purpose of bridging the gap between industry and First Nations.

Since the framework outlines a process of CD, the organizational structure must be flexible in order to be situational and adapt to changing circumstances. In this sense, the organizational structure can be viewed as an open system bbbb "...exists in interdependent, exchange relationships" (French and Bell, 1990: 54) of material, data and energy with the purpose of managing both the external and the internal aspects so that its inputs can be effectively utilized (*ibid*). CD-like open systems "...are therefore contingent or dependent on the situation and not on any abstract principles of management" (Armstrong, 1990:2). The term "open systems" is generally used to describe the adaptation of corporations to changing economic, political, social and cultural environments such " . . . as competition, market developments, government edicts, economic trends and societal pressures" (Armstrong, 1990:3) that impinge on the organization. The open systems concept can be adapted to partnerships between First Nations and industry, with consideration, however, of different environmental factors that impinge on the partnership. The factors that impinge on the partnership include all components of the cultural, social, political and economic environment in which the partnership is based.

The framework is organized in the form of Table 6.1. The first column presents the general Issues of the Socio-Economic Partnership, followed by their respective Indicators, Objectives and elements to be considered in Building the Right Capacity.

TABLE 6.1 A Framework for Effective Industry/First Nations Collaboration

Socio-economic Partnership Issues	Indicators	Objectives	Building the Right Capacity
Corporate Policy to include First Nations in Forestry	• Formal policy to address First Nations concerns about the land • Guidelines and Principles for CD. • Industry awareness of the Partnership	• To ensure commitment to the objectives, processes, plans and budget required for CD.	• Designate someone in a management position who has the time and mandate to focus on First Nation issues and to oversee the partnership, and who is preferably located geographically near the First Nation community. • Policy to work under a spirit of cooperation
Partnership Awareness at the industry/First Nations Interface	• Meetings with industry and First Nation; • Vision statements and goals that include principles of CD; • Posters and pamphlets	• Create a vision for working on shared tasks	1) **Develop a shared vision by:** • Building rapport • Empowering and assisting the First Nation in the design of the partnership, so that it reflects their culture and priorities; • Capture deeply held traditional values in the vision statement that can form the basis of how the community views the future; • Ensure that the vision statement reflects the community so that it can reach out to everyone; • Organize meetings with Chief and Council for the day that Council usually meets in order to ensure that a majority of Council Members are present 2) **Discuss expectancies for the partnership:** • Discuss long-term and short-term goals of the partnership, such as employment and integration of the TLUOS; • Clear intentions about the nature of the partnership: that the partnership is not just about creating employment, but about developing long-term capacity and employment; • Willingness to increase employment opportunities through CD; • Importance of having a reliable committee to oversee the implementation of CD. • Explanation of what CD entails; • Importance of communication and feedback; • Importance of having Chief and Council involved to some degree for the TLUOS study and economic development (such as for funding initiatives and community awareness and participation).

Socio-economic Partnership Issues Con't	Indicators	Objectives	Building the Right Capacity
Committee with representatives from industry and First Nations	Organization Need to determine: mandate, composition, meetings, quorum, terms of office and vacancy, chairperson, resource persons, confidentiality, participatory monitoring and evaluation, communication, funding, role of: outside researchers, consultants, and government	• Enhance knowledge of the context in which the two groups are working in order to ensure that policies, priorities and planning are suitable and justifiable; • Develop needs; • Promote self-sustained activities; • Coordination	Strategic Values of: 1) **Organizational development and adaptation:** • Building organizational capacity of the First Nation; • Emphasis on the interdependencies among different actors and to promote CD in a holistic way; • Emphasis on participation of the community, resource persons, researchers and government parties to promote CD. • Aid in the creation of a Memorandum of Understanding to set long-term objectives. • Accountability: for the purpose of building trust 2) **Cultural adaptation: Managing different value systems:** • Ensure that both strategic and operational levels promoting learning so that strategies are flexible. Cultural adaptation also promotes trust. 3) **Knowledge Management for the purpose of designing, implementing and managing effective projects through:** • accessing and use of knowledge and skills from both organizations; • building awareness and advocacy; • strengthening project planning and management. • strengthening communications
	• Mandate	• Authority to oversee partnership development • Monitor and evaluate CD	1) **Authority** • A duly adopted Band Council Resolution to form a committee; • A certified resolution by industry to form a committee. 2) **Capacity Development** • review progress in economic development, TLUOS and other initiatives of the partnership; • creation of indicators and methods for monitoring and evaluating CD; • recognition of diversity of styles in management. • be a source of advise and make recommendation with respect to economic development and the TLUOS to Chief and Council and industry in order to receive inputs

Socio-economic Partnership Issues Con't...	Indicators	Objectives	Building the Right Capacity
	• Composition	• Clear understanding of who are involved.	• Senior and middle management representatives from industry and First Nation who have management authority. From industry for example, the Woodlands Manager and the person from the corporate office responsible for First Nation Policy; From the First Nation, the Councillor in charge of the economic development portfolio, the band administrator and the head of HRD. The roles should be legitimized by the group's organization. • Include representatives of any already existing First Nations business in forest contracting.
	• Meetings	• To evaluate and enhance CD.	• Have at least one meeting with Chief and Council at the beginning of the fiscal year to go over the preliminary CD initiatives for economic and TLUOS development, so that everyone knows what to expect for the following year • Meetings for employment and TLUOS project coordination should be held at least three months ahead to organize and strategize for CD.
	• Quorum	• To ensure that there is adequate representation from each group at each meeting.	• Ensure that adequate number of people from each group attends the meeting. • Ensure that accurate minutes are taken and approved; • Ensure that approved minutes are distributed to those who do not attend the meetings. •All representatives should make the initiative to ensure that they know what has transpired in any meeting that they have missed.
	• Terms of Office and Vacancy	• Establish terms and conditions	To ensure the continuation of the committee, a clause could be inserted to state that " in case of ex officio members, the person assuming the relevant office shall assume the office so occurring on the committee".
	• Chairperson	• Coordinate committee meetings	• In designating this position, consideration should be given to the ability of that person to commit to such a job. There is a high turnover of Band Councillor every two or three years so whether a Band Councillor can preside over the meeting will have to be discussed. • Having an independent chairperson agreed to by the First Nations and industry may be considered.

Socio-economic Partnership Issues Con't…	Indicators	Objectives	Building the Right Capacity
	• Resource Persons	• Integrate existing community and industry structures; • To share responsibilities	• Involvement of HRD personnel from the community to share expertise and knowledge on existing programs that can be advantageous to the partnership for CD; • Invitation of resource persons from either group to attend meetings to highlight the technical, logistical and technological skills and equipment required so that assessments of what is required for projects can be understood prior to making decisions.
	• Confidentiality	• To ensure that if, in the course of its duties the committee comes into the possession of confidential information not normally divulged to members of the public, the information would remain confidential.	• Upon assuming the position as a member of the Committee, and as a condition of assuming such a position, a member shall promise that she/he shall keep confidential any confidential information learned in her/his capacity as a member of the Committee
	• Participatory Monitoring and Evaluation	• Knowledge management • Assessment of project development and accountability. • Restatement of the: action agreement; feedback review; • Continuing oversight.	• Set methodological guidelines for evaluating CD; • Have annual reports to give an overview and assessments of projects and keep the committee and others up to date; • Analyze gaps between strategic goals and operating standards. • Incorporate a diversity of views
	• Communication	• Effective communication	•Many First Nations in capacity-development partnerships lack the technical knowledge used in forestry and the TLUOS. Rather than sending documents to the First Nation, all pertinent information should be verbalized in face-to-face meetings and, if necessary, through visual presentations.
	• Funding	• To learn about available funding from government and private agencies for CD	• Invitation of government or private agencies to inform the First Nations and industry partner of funding availabilities; • Market the partnership to illustrate the needs as well as the potential benefits for investment
	• Role of Outside Researchers	• Participate in the achievement of the goals and objectives of the partnership; • Transfer of knowledge from researcher to practitioners	• Invite existing researchers to committee meetings to assess how the research can be beneficial to the partnership; • Ensure that PAR occurs • Assess the use of research institutions, such as the SFM Network, to enhance CD through research.

Socio-economic Partnership Issues Con't ...	Indicators	Objectives	Building the Right Capacity
	• Role of Consultants	• Conflict resolution	• Neutral person that both parties agree upon; • Use as a last resort.
	• Role of Government	• Support of industry/First Nations partnership	• Inform and locate pertinent government departments in order to receive financial support and advise/assistance.
Economic Development	• Employment or Contracts • Learning: Training; Education; and Development	• Ensure appropriate development of skills and knowledge for long-term benefits.	Learning: Keep an open mind on the dynamics of the project coordination, i.e. cultural and organizational adaptation. Consider the following factors at least three months ahead of project start date: 1) **Training:** • Assessment of those who need training; • Job shadowing programs 2) **Education:** • Provide scholarship incentives. 3) **Development:** • Orientation, such as workshops • Projects should not be judged by its amount but also by the efforts made toward CD. • Hiring: individuals are chosen through interviews, degree of interest and prior experience; ensure that as many individuals as possible are hired from the community; • Provide and nurture leadership; • Youth Involvement • Women: ensure that women are considered for jobs and that there are childcare availabilities for the duration of the project; • Appropriate Technology: focus on creating jobs rather than using the most sophisticated and expensive technology; • Supervision: development of supervisory skills to improve the quality of work, training and, profits. • Work with any existing First Nations company or individual contractor from the community. • Monitoring and evaluating: Ensure that strategies for CD have been adequately monitored and enforced by appropriate persons. Present project assessments to the committee.

Socio-economic Partnership Issues Con't	Indicators	Objectives	Building the Right capacity
Traditional Land-Use and Occupancy Study (TLUOS)	• Coordinators; • Mapping technologies, • Community participation and awareness; • Learning: Training, Education, Development	• Enhancement of cultural values in the forest landscape	Willingness to learn about the TLUOS through the community advisory committee on TLUOS: 1) **Training:** • Coordinator has received adequate training on coordinating the TLUOS and mapping technologies; from the outside supervisor, • involved individuals are adequately trained in conducting interviews and mapping technologies 2) **Education:** • Formal education in the form of courses in mapping technologies; • Information sessions to Chief and Council and the committee on the TLUOS 3) **Development** • Council is involved to some degree to ensure that funding and community participation objectives are meet. • Significant dialogue between industry and First Nations for the enhancement of the incorporation of cultural values and their ongoing protection in the forest landscape.
Enhancement of Partnership	• Knowledge of each other	• Gain greater trust, respect and understanding of each other	Regular appreciation of each other through: • Attendance at social events such as pow-wows, and participate in career fairs; • Cultural awareness programs for industry. • First Nations awareness of the forest industry
	•Memorandum of Understanding (MOU)	• Commitment to long term CD	• Keep the MOU simple - Developing trust and familiarity with each other can prevent the MOU from becoming bogged down with details. • State intention of MOU at the beginning of the partnership; • Include incentives for formal education; • Integrate the TLUOS • Periodically review the MOU to adequately define priorities and goals.

6.1 Corporate Policy to Include First Nations in Forestry

The purpose of having a corporate policy is ". . . to allow for consistent treatment, clarify to staff how management expects them to behave, take into account corporate interests of the company and provide a clear standard of behavior for Aboriginal communities" (IOG, 1999b: 4). Setting a standard that is shared by all pertinent members of industry ensures commitment to the objectives, processes and plans, which may also include establishing a budget for CD.

According to Cameco Corporation, which has a corporate policy with respect to working with aboriginal peoples, corporate polices are " . . . key to making everyone in the organization accountable. For example the general manager . . . has these issues reflected directly in his operations annual performance targets. We track and report our performance on a monthly basis" (NAFA and IOG, June 2000: 52).

It is important that someone in senior management be responsible for the implementation of the policy to incorporate First Nations, as senior management is perceived as "vital in terms of resourcing, commitment and the establishment of a support culture" (Garavan, Barnicle and O' Suilleabhain 1999:193). Senior management is also perceived to be effective in dealing with the complex environments that partnerships with First Nations may produce (Garavan, Barnicle and O' Suilleabhain 1999: 194).

Given that industry will be collaborating with senior persons such as the Chief and Members of Council, it would also be culturally appropriate and respectful that senior persons from industry be in charge of the management of aboriginal relations. Having senior people from both groups at the discussion table can also facilitate decision-making.

When policies set a standard of behavior to work under a spirit of cooperation, management becomes flexible and adaptive, thereby enabling the incorporation of culturally appropriate strategies.

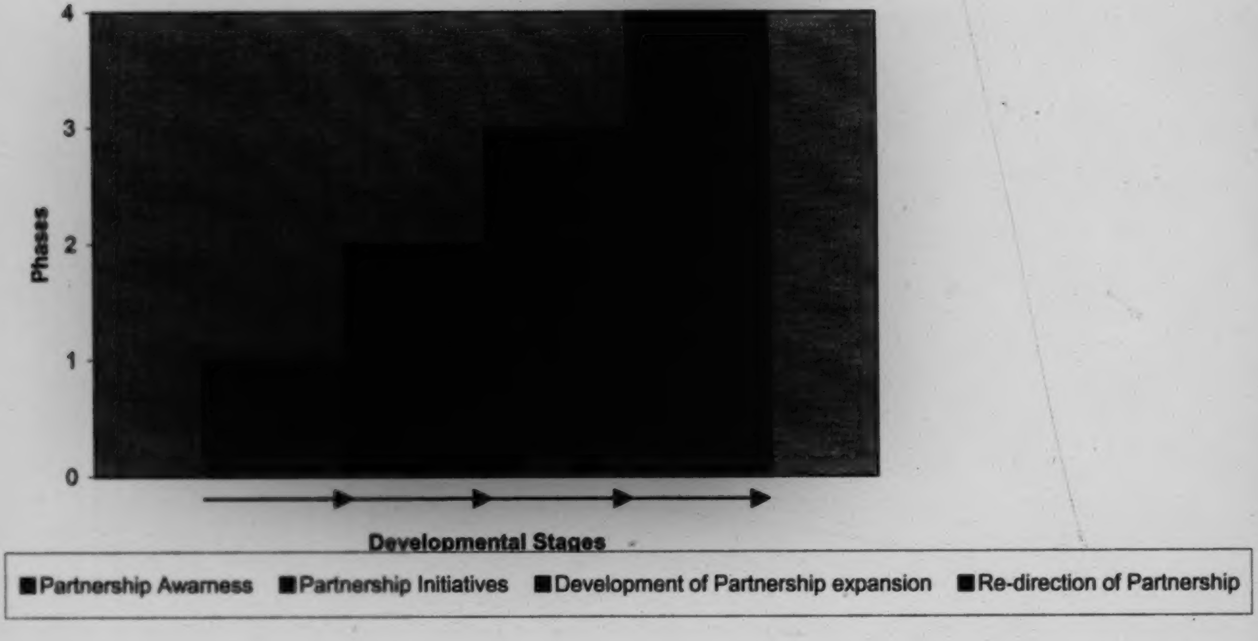
6.2 Partnership Awareness at the Industry/First Nations Interface

Since CD involves long-term commitment, building a shared vision is an important step to encourage the associated changes. The IIED, UNDP and the United Kingdom Department for International Development (UK DFID) (2002) accurately captures this idea:

> The emphasis is now on demand-driven processes rather than top-down agendas. 'Strategy' is increasingly being used to imply a continuous (or at least iterative) learning system to develop and achieve a shared vision, rather than one-off exercises. The associated challenges are more clearly about institutional change-generating awareness, reaching a consensus on values, building commitment, creating an environment with the right incentives, working on shared tasks-and doing so at a pace with which stakeholders can cope. The means to do this are integrated systems of: participation, analysis, debate, experiment prioritization, transparency, monitoring, accountability and review (2).

Since CD relies on new approaches, considerable time is required to build awareness so that such elements as "...reaching a consensus on values, building commitment, creating an environment with the right incentives, working on shared tasks-and doing so at a pace with which stakeholders can cope" (*ibid*) are pursued effectively. A simple model of cross-cultural collaboration between lesser developed countries (LDCs) and advanced developed countries (ADCs) adapted from Sharma, Miller and Reeder's (1990) rendering of micro-enterprise development (see Figure 6.1) illuminated the importance of building awareness for socio-economic capacity. The four-stage model is based on the following assumptions about development: "(a) ...development can be enhanced through learning, (b) ...as a phenomenon, [development] is comprised of several developmental stages, (c) each stage of development is influenced by previous stages strategies and outcomes, and (d) the stage of . . . development will

FIGURE 6.1 MICRO-ENTERPRISE DEVELOPMENTAL STAGES



--- Sharma, Miller and Reeder (1990) cited in Geroy *et al.*, (1997:68) determine what type and mix of implementation strategies are necessary"(qtd. in Geroy *et al.*, 1997: 67).

Micro-enterprises are similar in nature to socio-economic partnerships: Micro-enterprise is "Generally defined as self-employed, income generating efforts, they are characterized by: a) family ownership and operation b) use of appropriate labor intensive technology c) use of indigenous resources to create low cost goods & services; and d) in the developing world, often operate in the informal economic sector outside of government regulation" (Miller and Clark, 1990:516 qtd. in Geroy *et al.*, 1997:65). The similarity to socio-economic partnerships lies in the strategies that are designed to "help people help themselves…enhance(s) economic opportunity and meet education and human capital needs" (Geroy *et al.*, 1997: 65-66) and, "are based largely in grass roots organizations" (Geroy *et al.*, 1997:67).

Although the model illuminates the necessary stages for development of partnerships, it should not be viewed as static. New projects and changes of personnel at the Band Council or industry level, for example, will require that efforts be made to make those newly involved aware of CD strategies. The recurring building of awareness is an important strategy to build commitment to the goal of achieving CD and to inform both parties of the expected standards of behavior.

Empowering the First Nations to assist in the design of the partnership is crucial as imposed systems rarely work (IOG, 1999a: 76). Wagmatzook First Nation and the Cities and Environment Unit (2000) also advises that the vision should try to reflect the diverse groups within the community so that it reaches out to as many people as possible (Wagmatzook First Nation and Cities and Environment Unit, 2000: 34). One such strategy could be the use of First Nations' traditions in developing a vision by:

> draw(ing) upon the community's history, traditions, and experiences when deciding how to face the future. Traditional knowledge, methods of decision-

making and organization are rich sources for future-building in the sense that they often capture deeply held values and will likely form the basis for how the community views its future (*ibid*).

It is important however, that visions are not too general, so that there is adequate focus on the strategies. At the same time, a vision should not be too specific, to "...prevent it from becoming paralyzed by being too comprehensive" (Dalal-Clayton *et al.*, 1994: 17).

6.3 Committee with Representatives from Industry and First Nations

The reasons for establishing a committee with representatives from industry and the First Nations group are: first, to create a niche for understanding the context in which both parties are working, so that strategies are suitable to developing and understanding how to build the right capacity; second, to provide a much-needed agency with key, individuals skilled in management and forestry to oversee CD; third, to ensure on-going management of the relationship.

Canada's foreign policy statement *Canada in the World* that sets Guidelines for Effective Programming for development in international settings is indicative of the objectives and purpose of committees to oversee CD:

1) Developing...needs and participation – a strong emphasis on local participation and ownership in all stages of programming;
2) Knowledge of the context – by basing program design on a thorough knowledge of local conditions and by drawing on the lessons learned;
3) Promoting self-sustaining activities – by focusing on achieving results that will continue to provide benefits after Canadian [Industry] support ends;
4) Co-ordination with others... (Baser and Bolger, 1996:5).

In contrast to ad hoc arrangements, the committee structure provides a space to learn and adapt to one another's norms and values, as well as to provide a forum to learn about CD issues and build commitment to them. Learning and adaptation to socio-cultural norms are necessary, since cross-cultural research has illustrated that " . . . often barriers to a successful agreement are of a cultural nature rather than being economic or legal" (Gulbro and Herbig, 1996:18). A group's norms and values can contribute a restraining force on change (Lewis and Thornhill, 1994:29). Learning and adaptation to one another's cultural norms and values can encourage the emergence of more flexible strategies, as "...uncertainty and unfamiliarity [which] are core characteristics of working in and with cultures with which we are not familiar . . . Leads people to persevere in tactics and strategies that are not working" (Harrison 1995:23, qtd. in Estienne, 1997:17). Cultural curiosity, on the other hand, encourages learning and adapting to differences that may emerge (Heimer and Vince, 1998:84) as learning leads both groups to overcome annoyances "...such as interruptions to their speech, which can be forgiven when people feel that they have been heard" (*ibid*).

Watson (1994) states that management, is " . . . essentially and inherently a social and moral activity, one whose greatest success in efficiently and effectively producing goods and services is likely to come through building organizational patterns, culture and understanding based on relationship of mutual trust and shared obligation among people involved in the organization" (qtd. in Garavan, Barnicle and O'Suilleabhain, 1999:192). Since work is socially constructed, an environment of trust and familiarity promotes an effective organization adapted to incorporate CD and teamwork. Developing skills in a team context can "...build cohesion and consistency in teamwork, develop a shared vision and understanding; establish quality dialogue between members; establish feedback mechanisms to review and improve team processes (Kakabadse and Myers,1994: 351 qtd. in Higgs, 1996:41). A partnership based on trust also makes it easier for industry, which has obvious concerns about its FMA, to delegate responsibilities to First Nations, and for the First Nations community to trust that the forest company is taking their cultural and economic values into consideration.

The teamwork environment that a committee promotes is also conducive to encouraging the development of skills (Higgs, 1996:40). As well, the committee provides a structure for the management of knowledge processes, as " . . . the capacity to acquire, share and utilize knowledge means that companies have established systems, structures, and organizational values that support the knowledge management process" (McShane and Gilnow, 2000: 20).

Knowledge management that uses monitoring and evaluation as a strategy will require developing and implementing mutually agreed mechanisms for the monitoring and evaluation (IOG, 1999b: 85). Monitoring and evaluating can seem quite invasive when there is no trust or atmosphere of friendliness. Trust and the personal relationships that can grow out of the committee are a crucial part of the knowledge management process. Research has found that "...when the level of trust and acceptance is high, almost any effort to communicate is successful" (Nelson and Quick, 1994: 119-120 qtd. in Darling and Fogliasso, 1999:388). An atmosphere of trust can allow monitoring and evaluating to be conducted smoothly, which can steer CD onto the right path. In an atmosphere of trust the First Nation group might, for example, feel comfortable to ask questions without fear of ridicule, and can be informative about what they know about the projects. Proactive attempts to create trusting relationships can pay early dividends. If there is a lack of trust on the other hand, an assessment may only occur after the project, when it may be too late.

The committee can also be an important link to the community and to the industry. It can also be the locus where both parties learn about each other. The individual, team and organizational processes, which are the three levels that organizational behavioral theorists analyze (McShane and Glinow, 2000: 17), are critical levels of analysis of CD strategies which the committee can be responsible for managing:

> The individual level includes the characteristics and behaviors of employees as well as the thought processes attributed to them, such as motivation, perceptions, personalities, attitudes, and values. The team level of analysis looks at the way people interact. This includes team dynamics, decisions, power, organizational politics, conflict, and leadership. At the organizational level, we focus on how people structure their working relationships and on how organizations interact with their environments (*ibid*).

Figure 6.2 graphically illustrates how the individual (both internal and external such as resource persons, researchers and government officials), Team (Committee), Organizational (both external and internal) can work together to enhance CD. In order that the necessary inputs are provided, both organizations must be receptive to feedback. The committee assumes that both industry and the aboriginal community are working toward common goals and values. Communication of the needed inputs is critical for the future success of the outputs. This process is cyclical and, ideally, self-sustaining.

Evaluating the individual, team, and organizational processes promotes transparency and accountability, which in turn encourages trust and mutual understanding. These factors are fundamental to have between two organizations that are radically different socially, culturally and economically. Feedback mechanisms are necessary to evaluate whether assumptions are accurate and to clear up misunderstandings (Darling and Fogliasso, 1999:391).

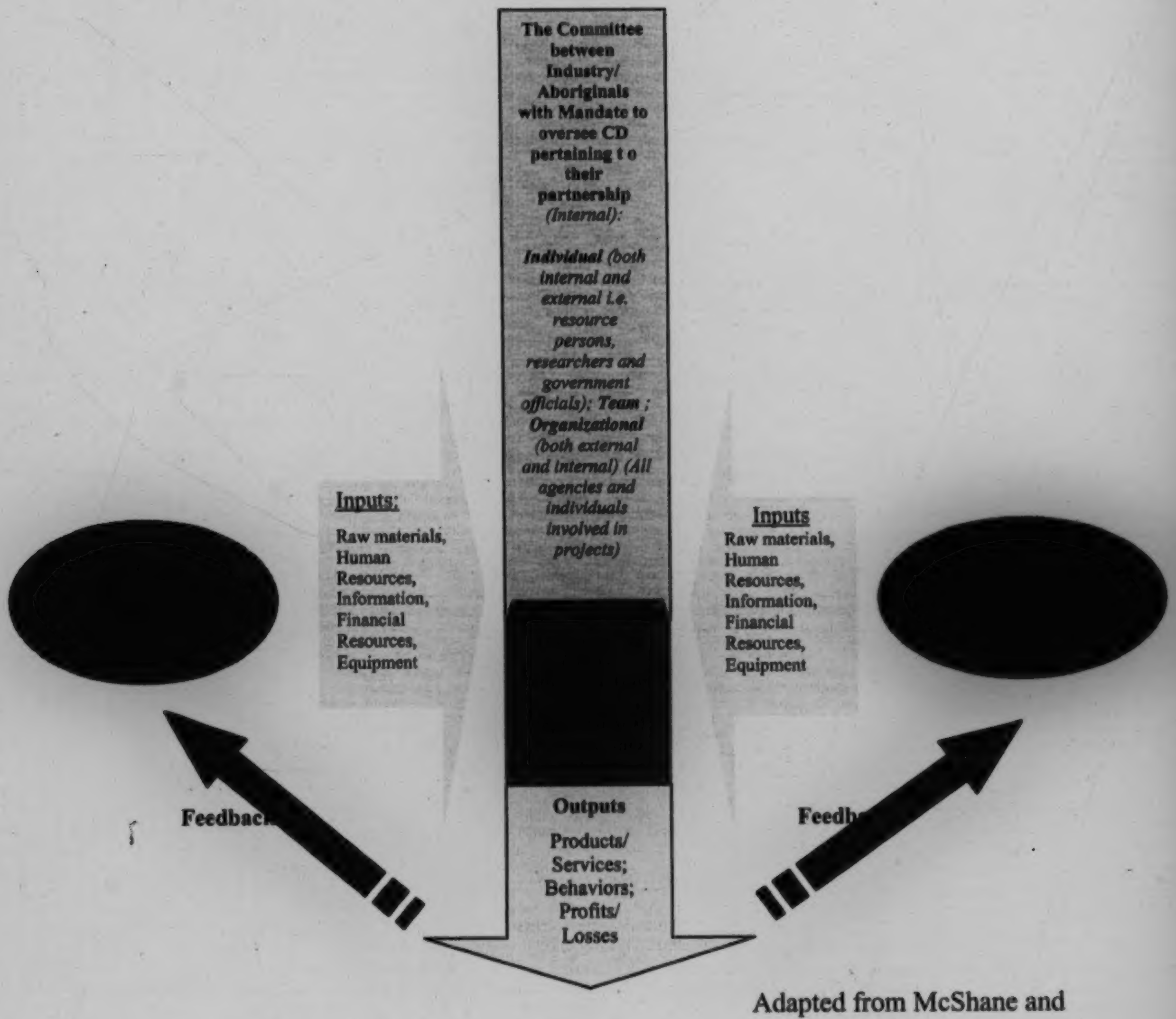
6.3.1. Mandate

In order for the committee to carry out its functions, a clear decision should be made by all members of each organization to form a committee and agree to its composition.

Any mandate to oversee the partnership must include the authority to: 1) ensure that projects take advantage of all available resources; 2) provide recommendations to Chief and Council and industry for necessary inputs; 3) develop criteria and indicators so that effective assessments of the partnership, such as projects and partnership initiatives, can be made.

Higgs and Rowland's (1992) research on cross-cultural management found the following determinants for effective management: "A shared understanding of and a commitment to team goals and objectives; clear and shared understanding

FIGURE 6.2 ENHANCING ORGANIZATIONAL CAPACITIES FOR EFFECTIVE INDUSTRY/FIRST NATIONS COLLABORATION


The Committee between Industry/ Aboriginals with Mandate to oversee CD pertaining t o their partnership (Internal):
Individual (both internal and external i.e. resource persons, researchers and government officials): Team ; Organizational (both external and internal) (All agencies and individuals involved in projects)
Inputs:
Raw materials, Human Resources, Information, Financial Resources, Equipment
Inputs
Raw materials, Human Resources, Information, Financial Resources, Equipment
Outputs
Products/ Services; Behaviors; Profits/ Losses
Feedbac
Feedb

Adapted from McShane and Glinow (2000: 18) of each team member's role and contribution; recognition of diversity in style, expertise and contribution are one of the determinants of effective management; and effective pooling of knowledge and skills" (qtd. in Higgs, 1996:41).

6.3.2 Composition

Senior and middle management persons of industry and Band Councillors have the necessary skills to coordinate activities, as well as the authority, knowledge of and familiarity with individuals from their relevant organizations. Many commitments can therefore be rapidly decided at the discussion table.

Having only Band Councillors to represent the First Nations on the committee creates instability since their positions are decided upon every two to three years when Band Council elections are held. It would be advisable to include the band administrator and the head of the HRD or the head of an existing First Nations forestry business on the committee, so as to create some stability in the representation of the First Nations.

6.3.3 Meetings

Meetings between the committee and Chief and Council and senior management of industry at the beginning of the fiscal year shows industry/First Nations unity and avoids conflicts and misunderstanding.

For effective project coordination, meetings of the committee should be held at least three months in advance of new projects, and, at regular intervals of on-going projects, in order to make assessments. Meetings are important ways in which to build rapport, provide information about past and future projects, and to provide a forum for learning.

6.3.4 Quorum

The establishment of a quorum is necessary to ensure that an adequate number of representatives attend meetings to permit decision-making. Ensuring that there is adequate representation from each group prevents either group from dominating decision-making and facilitates the communication of ideas.

6.3.5 Terms of Office and Vacancy

To ensure the continuation of the committee after a band or industry member ceases to be in office, a clause could be inserted to state that " in case of ex officio members, the person assuming the relevant office shall assume the office so occurring on the committee".

6.3.6 Chairperson

Designation of someone to be the chairperson should be thoughtfully considered as the chairperson has the key role of ensuring that the committee develops a common view of its purposes and shared responsibility for leadership. Consideration should be given to the ability of the individual selected to stay on as chairperson for the long term, as the chairperson usually has to have an extensive knowledge of the group's aims, background and functioning. For this reason, perhaps both parties may wish to think about having an independent chairperson agreed to by the First Nations and industry.

6.3.7 Resource Persons

Inclusion of resource persons from the First Nations and industry is beneficial in providing input on specific matters according to their professional background. The committee can make recommendations, for example to include resource persons to give advise and technical assistance or help in planning and evaluating programs. Resource persons can even act as liaisons and awareness agents.

6.3.8 Confidentiality

Measures must be put in place to ensure that confidential information not normally divulged to members of the public should remain confidential in order for the partnership to function in an atmosphere of trust. For example, each member, on his or her appointment, might be required to sign a formal declaration to maintain confidentiality.

6.3.9 Participatory Monitoring and Evaluation

Monitoring, evaluation and learning from experience are keys to a successful strategy and must be an integral part of the process (Dalal-Clayton *et al.*, 1994:13). This should be a participatory process: Guijt and Gaventa illustrate how participatory monitoring and evaluations (PM&E) differ from conventional monitoring and evaluation approaches:

	Conventional M&E	**Participatory M&E**
Who plans and manages the process:	Senior managers, or outside experts	Local people, project staff, managers, and other stakeholders, often helped by a facilitator
Role of 'primary stakeholders' (the intended beneficiaries):	Provide information only	Design and adapt the methodology, collect and analyse data, share findings and link them to action
How success is measured:	Externally-defined, mainly quantitative indicators	Internally-defined indicators, including more qualitative judgements
Approach:	Predetermined	Adaptive

--- (1998: 2)

The purpose of monitoring and evaluation is to provide continuous feedback so that partnership endeavors are accountable and transparent. The documentation and dissemination of results ensures that signs of progress are communicated to a wider audience. The inclusion of community members in PM&E also gives the local people a chance to speak out, which in the long run can lead to strategies that are culturally and socially adaptive. The US Agency for International Development (1996), for example, explains that one important factor in PM&E is the recognition of "diversity of views [so that] more powerful stakeholders allow participation of the less powerful" (1). Lewis and Thornhill (1994) assert that the need to have PM&E is because "...culture change has to be dependent on the evaluation message being spread widely in the organization. For this reason, and the practical assistance of key organizational members in the data-collection process, it seems advisable to have as many evaluation participants as possible" (31).

Guijt and Gaventa state: "...at the heart of PM&E are four broad principles:

> 1) '**Participation**' - which means opening up the design of the process to include those most directly affected, and agreeing to analyse data together;
>
> 2) The inclusiveness of PM&E requires '**negotiation**' to reach agreement about what will be monitored or evaluated, how and when data will be collected and analysed, what the data actually means, and how findings will be shared, and action taken;
>
> 3) This leads to '**learning**' which becomes the basis for subsequent improvement and corrective action;
>
> 4) Since the number, role, and skills of stakeholders, the external environment, and other factors change over time, '**flexibility**' is essential."
>
> --- (1998:3)

PM&E strategies are comprised of "processes" and "products". The processes entail the development of an approach to: 1) " . . . determine key indicators which can be used to measure success, i.e., how well it has been implemented, its impact on the community, and its contribution toward realizing the vision"; 2) "...establish an approach to conduct the evaluation; create a work plan which identifies the indicators to be considered and a timeframe for doing the work; assign responsibilities to the evaluating team" (Wagmatzook First Nation and Cities and Environment Unit, 2000:66).

The products, on the other hand, reflect the documentation of the processes. The summary of the evaluation should include " . . . the evidence of each indicator through field work, observations, surveys, interviews with the people involved; comparison of the evidence with the original intentions of the project and the content of the framework; determination if a contribution has been made toward realizing the vision for the community; consideration of the effect of forces of change on outcomes" (Dalal-Clayton *et al.*, 1994:19). "Each action will need to be described in terms of its purpose, inputs and outputs, implementation arrangements, roles and responsibilities of implementing agencies, critical tasks and paths, financial requirements, and monitoring and evaluation arrangements" (Dalal-Clayton, *et al.*, 1994:18). Figure 6.3 illustrates the sequence of steps required for PM&E.

6.3.10 Communication

There are two interrelated components of the communications strategy to ensure that First Nations are making informed decisions that will benefit both the community and the forest: 1) developing culturally adaptive strategies, so that ideas and information are effectively communicated; 2) linking the information rich society with the information-poor (the First Nation).

Dalal-Clayton, *et al.* (1994) capture the integral role of communication in CD:

> Communication is an integral component of the entire strategy process: keeping participants informed of progress; providing a consensus expression of the strategy (particularly the policy framework and action plan); and contributing to implementation by helping to generate wider understanding of sustainable development, and encouraging participation. These roles will require the preparation of communication plans. Communication mechanisms include: workshops and briefings, distributing a newsletter, maintaining an information base and publishing strategy documentation . . . (19)

Many First Nations lack the understanding of technical knowledge and jargon commonly used in forestry. Translating technical terms/jargon into aboriginal languages poses very special challenges that take time and money to overcome.

The material involved has been removed because of copyright restriction. The information removed was Figure 6.3, a sequence of steps for participatory monitoring and evaluation. Source: Guijt and Gaventa, 1998:3

The use of technical words and jargon should therefore be avoided as much as possible. Where their use is unavoidable, they should be adequately explained. In the case study findings presented in Chapter Seven, for example, several Council Members from the First Nations asked the researcher what "certification" meant, even after they had encountered the term on several occasions in consultations with another forestry company, and even after they had signed documents to confirm that they had been consulted. The research findings also pointed to the fact that despite three years of a TLUOS, several Council Members had not understood its purpose or appreciated its significance. During the negotiation of a contract with a forestry company, numerous members of the First Nation group asked what was meant by 'overhead costs'. These examples illustrate the potential of misunderstandings to lead to failed projects and situations of conflict.

Finding the most effective methods of communication, such as e-mail, fax, telephone, mapping technologies, face-to-face discussions, posters and pamphlets requires thought and effort. Many First Nations prefer to have face-to-face discussions that include visual materials to explain concepts or ideas. In the case study findings, for example, although the partnership had been discussed in several meetings, few individuals were aware of it because it had not been adequately explained. It was only one year later, when the researcher distributed posters and pamphlets at three Council meetings and explained the goals of the partnership, that many people came to realize that a partnership existed. Many people read the pamphlets and asked about their meaning. One Council Member for example, asked what capacity building meant.

One area where differences in methods of communication between industry and First Nations exist is in the TLUOS: Elders transfer their knowledge through word of mouth and learning through first hand experience. Foresters, on the other hand, like consulting on maps and thereby produce detailed maps with information about such things as forest types, roads and harvesting areas. Ideally most foresters would like First Nations to present their information showing the traditional areas that the First Nations want to see protected, on maps. Although many First Nation communities are comfortable with topographic maps with scales of 1:50,000 or 1:100,000, they may have problems with the specialized forest type maps. Assistance in using specialized maps and training in mapping technologies will be required. Asking that community members put traditional knowledge on maps, which are then taken away to a company office, is often perceived as asking them to give up control of their information. Clear guidelines about how the information will be used and shared between industry and the community are therefore essential.

6.3.11 Funding

There are numerous private and government programs that partnerships can use of to enhance CD. But, "...because community based development differs so radically from traditional means of stimulating growth organizers must convince those with the dollars that this innovative approach will yield superior results" (Dorsey and Ticoll, 1982:51).

Since government objectives are to strive to strengthen and maintain trusting relationships between industry and First Nations, they are often open to supporting such partnerships. From case studies of industry/First Nations partnerships, NAFA and IOG identified some important ways in which government has supported First Nations:

> . . . provision of capital to complement limited Aboriginal equity; facilitation of co-management initiatives; provision of tenure and forest licenses; assistance in gaining market access (e.g. softwood lumber quota or favorable provision in trade agreements); provision of training programs, and, forest research to address key Aboriginal forest issue and support to partnership building, e.g. the Model Forest Program of the Canadian Forest Service (2000:83).

6.3.12 Role of Researchers

The committee can be instrumental in matching researchers and support services with community needs and concerns. The committee can therefore play an instrumental role to ensure that PAR occurs. There are often other projects going on in the community that can be beneficial to the partnership, either directly through the research findings or indirectly through the illustration of concepts or ideas that are similar to partnership endeavors, or through the sharing of knowledge and experiences.

Numerous government and private agencies have research programs that accommodate sustainable development initiatives. The AFN and MWFP for example, successfully approached the SFM Network to support research to enhance CD. The role of the outside agency, however, should be that of a catalyst (Baser and Bolger, 1996:2) rather than a prerequisite for CD.

6.3.13 Role of Consultant

In times of conflict, independent consultants acceptable to both parties can be beneficial in overcoming contentious issues. Choosing a consultant early in the partnership gives both parties ample time to decide on someone with whom they are comfortable to use in time of need. Since hiring a consultant is expensive, consultants should be used as a last resort. The cost of using a consultant should be evaluated against the cost of not resolving the problem quickly.

Working with a consultant to resolve issues should not be viewed negatively or perceived as a breakdown of the partnership. Rather, it should be seen as an illustration of the willingness of two groups to learn how to avoid future conflict so that they can work together effectively. Bolme states that: "Interpersonal conflict has deep roots in such things as prestige; formal organizational structure that determines who is going to take on what responsibilities and the line of authority; leadership styles and expectations arising therefrom; and prejudice that spawns mistrust for any number of reasons, including position, cultural differences, etc" (1983: 6 qtd. in Darling and Fogliasso, 1999:385). Conflicts in industry/First Nations partnerships should therefore be expected since individuals with different cultural and socio-economic values are working together.

6.4 Economic Development

There are numerous HRD models based on the concepts of training, education and learning (Garavan, 1997). Depending on the needs of the organization, these concepts are emphasized to varying degrees (Garavan, 1997: 39). In organizations that function to empower individuals for institutional and HRD development, such as in socio-economic partnerships, Garavan argues that training, education and development should be viewed as an integrated whole with learning as "...the glue which holds them together" (1997: 39). Garavan's research is based on international cross-cultural management, where such HRD and organizational strategies are based on principles of "empowerment" and "total quality" cultures where "...individuals are expected to accept greater responsibility and to follow a path of continuous improvement" (*ibid*). "Total quality" refers to the organizational strategy that has gained momentum in recent years as a result of globalization and the consequent need for cross-cultural management. Total quality management (TQM) is defined as " . . . strategy based on a philosophy of continuously improving organizational processes in response to a demanding and changing environment (Allen and Kilmann 2001:112). With respect to HRD practices, Allen and Kilmann suggest that to achieve TQM "human resource practices should be selected which complement and support an organizational strategy (2001:114). Garavan states that:

> At the core of this ["total quality" and "empowerment"] movement is the recognition that employees have far more to offer than just performing work in a functional manner: their contribution can also encompass creativity and innovation. Increasingly individual capacity to learn and their involvement in the process of learning should be a primary concern. A focus on learning in an organizational context, rather than separate activities of training, development and education, seem best to facilitate the process (1997:48).

TQM and 'empowerment' cultures are reminiscent of CD approaches in industry/ First Nations collaboration, because CD strives to empower the First Nations community and its collaboration with industry through improving the organizational processes in the changing environment of the First Nations/industry relationship. Although there is a need to empower First Nations through education, training and development, what Garavan argues is that, unlike traditional HRD models that place greatest emphasis on such strategies, cross-cultural collaboration creates new challenges in its economic, political and political integration that the traditional HRD models cannot accommodate (*ibid*).

Giving primary focus to training and formal education in CD in socio-economic partnerships is inappropriate, because 1) Often the projects are small-scaled and do not require sophisticated technical knowledge. Training can therefore be done on the job; and, 2) Formal training and education require huge investments of time and money that are not justified or available for small-scale projects. The necessary training can be done in short periods, which can be determined a few months beforehand.

Given the cultural and organizational unfamiliarity of First Nations and industry partnerships, learning as the "glue" that holds together training, education and development is the most appropriate approach for CD. That approach creates a space for innovative and adaptive strategies. Training, education and development are all systems of learning, in an organizational context. Empowerment with an emphasis on learning " . . . facilitate[s] the continuous updating of employee competencies and continuous learning within organizations" (Garavan (1997:41).

Contracts and employment opportunities given by industry to First Nations should not be judged by their size but by the ability of the First Nations to handle the project. Baser and Bolger state that:

> Expectations in terms of the size, scope and timetable of projects and programs must be scaled to meet local capabilities. Bigger is not necessarily better.

> Starting small is often more effective with growth coming only as local resources and structures are able to absorb and manage it and as new learning experiences are shared. . . .(1996: 5)

Scaling projects according to local capabilities also ensures that most of the persons hired come from the local communities. Many projects require some level of sophistication in skills. If individuals from the community do not have experience outside help will be required which means that money will be diverted outside the community. Job shadowing can benefit the community in the long term if there is a pool of interested employees to choose from who are interested in long-term employment. Choosing to work with less sophisticated technology can also mean that more employment opportunities are created for individuals from the community. One such example is the use of chain saws instead of a feller buncher in logging: The overhead costs of a feller buncher are significantly higher and also require a trained person who is paid a high wage. If the community does not have the necessary experience in operating a feller buncher valuable money will be diverted outside the community. Money can be diverted to the community through the use of chain saws as more people can easily be trained to use a chain saw. Instead of the overhead costs going into the use of a feller buncher and its operator, it is spread out to pay numerous people's wages.

Operating within community structures will mean that community values cannot be overlooked or avoided. A familiar issue that many encounter when working with First Nations groups is nepotism. Given that First Nation communities are composed of few family groups, this makes what appears to be nepotism unavoidable. But what may be considered "nepotism" is not necessarily a bad thing. It may reflect traditional patterns of sharing. Although nepotism has a negative connotation, it can sometimes be beneficial to have individuals who like working with each other rather than individuals who are rivals. It is detrimental to long-term success, however, if individuals take on jobs only because they are given the opportunity to earn some quick cash, but have no intention of staying until the end of the project. For the long-term success of the partnership, it would be advantageous that individuals are hired on the basis of their credentials and willingness to work over the long term.

Young persons are the future of any community. Projects should therefore encourage youth involvement by such means as hiring students for summer work. Many women in First Nations communities have children at a young age. Their participation can be encouraged by working together to ensure that they have childcare options while they are away on the job.

6.5 Traditional Land-Use and Occupancy Study

Since TLUOS requires significant time to be completed, ranging from 18 months to three years for project completion (Garvin *et al.*, 2001:7), the identification and expression of values that the community places on the forest landscape should be viewed as a process that involves continuous interaction between the relevant parties rather than as a product whose final results will be implemented, so that TLUOS sites are protected in the duration of the project.

Through the progression of the TLUOS project, CD initiatives would include training, education and development of skills that is usually assessed by the project coordinator. Outside expertise is usually needed to aid in supervision and project coordination and to build capacity for the community coordinator and researchers. Projects should not, however, be conducted in isolation from the Band Council and industry, as TLUOS often require continuous logistical and financial support. Garvin *et al.*, state: " . . . the day-to-day management of the project is usually the responsibility of a community advisory committee. Members are appointed to the committee by the leadership" (2001: 6). Typically, the role of the community advisory committee is to:

- arrange meetings to explain the idea and process to the community, particularly to those people who will be active in the project
- research and create references to guide the process of the study and to outline its objectives
- select project partners to support the project from industry, government or other organizations with interest in the community

- arrange cooperation and partnership with these organizations
- administer project funding
- facilitate community participation
- select community interviewers and support staff, arrange for training
- monitor its progress throughout the study
- oversee production and distribution of the study report
- discuss and decide how the data will be managed
- update the community regularly on the status of the project.

--- Garvin *et al.*, 2001: 7

The advisory committee for the TLUOS can play an active role in the partnership/advisory committee with representatives from industry and the First Nations, since the goal of the TLUOS is to protect traditional sites as well as to integrate First Nations knowledge into the forest landscape. The community advisory committee can enhance the dialogue to incorporate traditional values in the forest landscape and ensure ongoing consultation even after the completion of the TLUOS. The awareness raised in the process can be beneficial to the progress of the TLUOS and may help to ensure its appropriate integration.

TLUOS is an original and contemporary concept that requires time and effort to understand. CD processes can increase the dialogue for the incorporation of the TLUOS as it necessitates cultural adaptation and an understanding of aboriginal and treaty rights[15]. It is imperative that the entire community, not only the individuals involved in the TLUOS, are informed about its significance. Support from community and industry leaders is essential, as the TLUOS is a major undertaking that requires advance arrangements of funding and expertise, which only the community and industry leaders can provide. It is therefore not enough for the community coordinator merely to receive letters of support. The coordinator must actively inform the community and industry about its significance and funding requirements of the TLUOS. The coordinator can do this through well-defined terms of reference[16]. The community, not the coordinator, should define the terms of reference, so that they reflect the community's needs and focus. Understanding the focus is essential, as it has implications for such things as the budget, and the mapping technologies required. If, for example, the community desires a focus on traplines, then budgets and mapping technologies should reflect those needs more than other traditional areas. Analyzing the annual operating plans (AOP) of industry will also be essential for ascertaining those areas that need immediate attention.

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[15] Dickerson and Ross (2000) state that "co-management as practised by forest resource stakeholders is more likely to manifest "consultation and cooperation" but not literally co-management.... There are a number of reasons for this difference in perception and reality, not the least of which is the lack of ownership by First Nations of the forest resource *and the lack of clear recognition, and understanding of Aboriginal and Treaty rights*" (2, *emphasis added*).

Having the whole community informed about the TLUOS is advantageous as it gives the community the opportunity to apply the knowledge in numerous ways that may benefit the community. Some examples of the application of a TLUOS are: educational uses, such as inclusion in the school curriculum; " . . . environmental impact assessments, forestry planning and operations, wildlife management, environmental management on reserves, national and provincial park management and conservation, ecotourism, cultural centers, and agriculture" (Garvin *et al.*, 2001: 41).

6.6 Enhancement of Partnership

Regular appreciation of each other through: 1) invitation and attendance of industry personnel at pow-wows and other cultural events or industry participation in community career fairs; 2) invitation of First Nations leaders and members to industry activities, for example, to trade shows, meeting of professional associations, industry social events (for example, many companies have annual golf tournaments) are some ways to develop trust and openness.

A MOU is a symbolic gesture of the commitment that both parties make to work together. In Alberta, MOUs often constitute the beginning of a relationship, designed to avoid misunderstandings. The original MOU should, however, provide for its periodic review and, if necessary, amendment. Negotiating an MOU in an atmosphere of openness and trust is important. Honda-McNeil's research on MOUs in Alberta states: "without the trust, respect, tolerance and understanding, it is impossible to move the relationship forward. Without stability and management, the MOUs will continue to stagger along with failure as the end result" (2000:103). MOUs can be bogged down with details as a result of stipulations to safeguard interests. Keeping the MOUs simple can therefore be more beneficial than drafting detailed MOUs. Some MOUs in British Columbia are even only one paragraph long stating the intent of the partnership to work in an atmosphere of trust, respect and friendship (David Mannix, Snuyneymuxw First Nation, *personal communication*: Feb 22, 2002*)*.

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[16] Appendix one of Garvin *et al.* (2001) provides an excellent example of terms of reference for a TLUOS.

7.0 Evaluating the Socio-economic Partnership between the Alexis First Nation and Millar Western Forest Products

7.1 The Partnership between Millar Western Forest Products and the Alexis First Nation

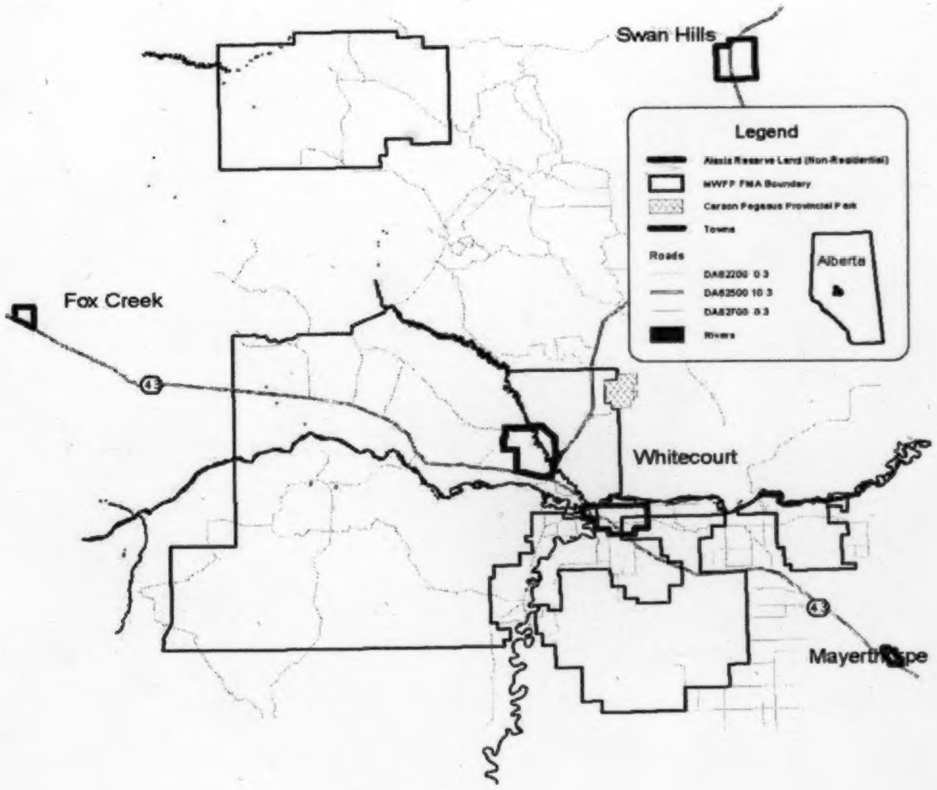
The AFN has reserve land (Reservation # 232) within MWFP's FMA (see Figure 7.1). In addition, lands that members of the AFN use or have used for traditional activities, such as to hunt, gather and trap, fall into areas of MWFP's FMA.

A partnership between the AFN and MWFP was established in 1998, when a member of the AFN approached MWFP to conduct a TLUOS in MWFP's FMA. It was argued that an ongoing land-use study could be used both to protect traditional use areas from industrial activities and to guide management decisions for the shared landscape.

The goal of the TLUOS is to integrate the AFN's knowledge and understandings of the boreal landscape with MWFP's forest management into a new, adaptive management approach to forest stewardship. The idea behind the implementation of an integrated forest management strategy was to enable the AFN to become part of an integrated planning process. In order that the involvement of the AFN carries both authority and responsibility, MWFP and the AFN proposed that CD would be used as a strategy to enhance the involvement of the AFN in forest management. A research project between MWFP, the AFN and the University of Alberta, funded by the SFM Network to Dr. Clifford Hickey, was consequently established in December, 1999, to promote CD in cultural, natural resource and business management.

Since December, 1999, initiatives had been endorsed by the AFN and MWFP to strengthen the capacity of the AFN in forest-related activities. These were: 1) professional forestry training; 2) employment by MWFP; and, 3) an education

FIGURE 7.1
MAP OF MILLAR WESTERN'S FOREST MANAGEMENT AREA IN ASSOCIATION WITH THE ALEXIS FIRST NATION'S RESERVE LAND (#232)


Swan Hills
Legend
Alexis Reserve Land (Non-Residential)
MWFP FMA Boundary
Carson Pegasus Provincial Park
Towns
Roads
DA82200 0 3
DA82500 10 3
DA82F00 0 3
Rivers
Alberta
Fox Creek
43
Whitecourt
43
Mayerthorpe

--- Courtesy of Millar Western Forest Products.

program. This project was encouraged as a means to foster the capacity of the AFN, so that it could assume a more equitable role in forest management, as well as to assist MWFP and the AFN to work together cooperatively and effectively for the sustainability of their cultural and economic values in the shared landscape.

Table 7.1 lists the major events in the partnership between the AFN and MWFP in the form of a chronological table.

An MOU[17] that is at the stage of review is intended to set forth the agreed principles to establish and govern the relationship between the AFN and MWFP. A *Traditional Ecological Knowledge Information Sharing Agreement,* between the AFN and MWFP, developed by Dr. David Natcher of the University of Alberta, was established to stipulate protocols for the use and application of local landscape knowledge in forest management planning. The *Traditional Ecological Knowledge Information Sharing Agreement* also addresses issues of consultation, and compensation.

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[17] The MOU was initially called the Cultural Economic Development Agreement (CEDA).

TABLE 7.1.

MAJOR EVENTS IN THE PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN THE ALEXIS FIRST NATION AND MILLAR WESTERN FOREST PRODUCTS

Date	Event
April, 1998	Discussion between MWFP and the AFN about the TLUOS study
April 1999	Initiation of the TLUOS; the establishment of SFM Network Land-Use Research Methodology; and training of community members in TLUOS research.
April, 1999	Meeting between the AFN and MWFP to discuss the potential of a working relationship.
May, 1999	The AFN and MWFP decide to retain a consultant to act as a liaison between the two parties.
June 1999	Distribution of the *Traditional Ecological Knowledge Information Sharing Agreement* to be signed by the AFN and MWFP.
June, 1999	Employment of AFN members with Midland Vegetation (subcontractor of MWFP)
October, 1999	Invitation by the AFN to MWFP to the opening ceremony of the Training Center.
November, 1999	Education Program by MWFP for the AFN
December, 1999	The AFN begins work on a logging contract
July, 2000	The AFN begins work on a brush saw contract
September, 2000	Attendance of three band members from the AFN at a Nordfor brush saw training course partly supported by MWFP.
October, 2000	Donation of $600 to the AFN high school graduation by MWFP
December, 2000	The AFN begins work on a logging contract
January, 2001	The AFN begins work on a pile burning contract
May, 2001	Revision of the *Traditional Ecological Knowledge Information Sharing Agreement* to encompass economic development (called *the Cultural/Economic Development Agreement*) and its distribution to the AFN for review.
July, 2001	The AFN begins work on a tree-planting contract

July, 2001	The AFN begins work on a brush saw contract
22 October 2001	The AFN is awarded a logging contract of 5,000 cubic meters.
29 January 2002	Meeting at the AFN to discuss: (1) contracts to date given to the AFN; (2) the CEDA; (3) capacity building strategies in the context of the report developed by Dr. Clifford Hickey and Pia Wilkinson Chapman; (4) future arrangements for the partnership.
12 February 2002	Meeting at the AFN to discuss the significance of the TLUOS.
21 February 2002	Meeting at the AFN to talk about the structure of the tree-planting contract. Other items discussed were: are CEDA; CD strategies for employment in tree planting; and open house presentations for the annual operating plan.
6 March 2002	Meeting at the AFN to talk about the tree-planting contract and training for the contract. Other items discussed are: open house presentations for the tree-planting contract; CD strategies in general in the context of the report developed by Dr. Clifford Hickey and Pia Wilkinson Chapman; the education program; and the CEDA.
19 March 2002	Open house presentation for the tree-planting contract by MWFP at the AFN.
1 July 2002	The AFN begins work on the tree-planting contract.
August 2002	Chief and Council declare that attempts of the past year to get the data of the TLUOS from the community coordinator have not been successful. The possibility that the research has been lost was stated as a possibility.

7.1 General Descriptions of Millar Western Forest Products and Alexis First Nation

7.2.1 Millar Western Forest Products

MWFP has been active in the forest industry for close to a century. It is a privately owned company with its headquarters in Edmonton, Alberta. MWFP has its forestry operations in Whitecourt and Boyle, Alberta; Meadow Lake, Saskatchewan; and Chetwynd, British Columbia. The company produces bleached chemi-thermo-mechanical pulp, dimensional lumber and value-added wood products for domestic and foreign markets.

MWFP's Whitecourt forest operations directly employ 498 people, as well as providing seasonal employment on a contract basis to approximately 500 more. Although aboriginal persons are employed by MWFP, their numbers are not known with accuracy.

The total annual payroll of Whitecourt employees is $34.7 million. The total value of seasonal contracts is approximately $50 million. Maintaining the company's pulp mill, wood products and forest management operations at current capacities is of great importance to communities in the Whitecourt region and to the Province of Alberta as a whole.

MWFP was the first company to be certified under ForestCare, the Alberta forest industry's code of practices governing care of the forest, environment and communities. MWFP's company in northwest Saskatchewan has also won international recognition for working with aboriginal communities on the co-managembent of forest resources in Meadow Lake, Saskatchewan.

7.2.2 The Alexis First Nation

The AFN members are Assiniboine-Stoney Indians, who are descendants of the Nakota Sioux Nation of South Dakota's Black Hills area. The primary AFN Reserve (#133) is located approximately 70 kilometers northwest of Edmonton, on the northeast shore of Lac Ste. Anne and comprises 6175.2 hectares (Census Canada: 1996). The AFN also has three other reserves: one located 13 kilometers northwest of Whitecourt (#232) comprising 3544.9 hectares; a second one in Elk River (#233) comprising 98 hectares; and a third reserve in Cardinal River (#234) comprising 4661 hectares (*ibid*). Sixty-five percent of the combined reserve land base is classified as a mixed boreal forest eco-region, with the remainder set aside for agricultural interests.

The AFN was established with the signing of Treaty Six on August 21, 1877, by Chief Aginas Alexis, who signed the treaty using his Cree name: Alexis-Kees-Kee-Chee-Chi (Andersen, 1968: 45). His Nakota Sioux name was Aranazhi (Eugene Alexis, Language Instructor at the AFN, *personal communication,* 14 April, 2003). For several decades after signing Treaty Six, the AFN people continued to pursue a traditional way of life based on hunting game, such as deer, elk and moose, and snaring small fur-bearing animals. In the first half of the 20th century, the people of the AFN augmented their traditional economy with employment in local industry, including the oil and gas sector, agriculture, logging and saw milling businesses (including employment in MWFP's Whitecourt operations). In more recent years, the mechanization and computerization of these industries have outstripped the education and training capacities of the AFN people, making it increasingly difficult for members of the First Nation to find employment.

Currently, the AFN has a population of approximately 1, 334. Seven hundred and eighty four members live on the primary reserve, at Lac Ste. Anne, while many live in Edmonton. The reserve community has an administration office, community hall, fire hall, water plant, seniors' lodge, a primary and secondary school, daycare, outdoor ice arena, health clinic and a new training center. There are a number of businesses, which include Alexis Oil and Gas, Alexis Service Center (food store and gas bar), and Alexis Business Corporation (ABC) (forestry contracting and road building). In January 2001, however, ABC was closed down.

7.3 Evaluating the Partnership between Millar Western Forest Products and Alexis First Nation

7.3.1 Corporate Policy to Include Alexis First Nation

MWFP does not have a formal corporate policy to include the AFN. The Chief Forester has the responsibility of working with the AFN. Based out of MWFP's headquarters in Edmonton, one hour by car from the AFN community, he is able to travel to the AFN as often as needed. Having the Chief Forester in charge has facilitated decision making in the partnership because of his senior position.

Although MWFP employees are aware of the partnership, they are not aware of many of its details. Several people expressed their surprise when informed of the details of the MOU. It also appeared that there were considerable communication barriers between the operating level at Whitecourt and MWFP's head office: representatives of MWFP at the operating level did not know that they could have provided feedback to the Chief Forester at MWFP's head office,[18] largely because they were left out of communications and negotiations between the Chief Forester and the AFN[19].

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[18] It is not customary practice for supervisors at the operating level to provide detailed information on each contract to the head office. Consequently the supervisors at the operating level treated the contracts with the AFN as they did those with other contractors with the exception that they were aware that additional effort on their part was required to ensure the successful completion of projects by the AFN.

[19] In the report on the partnership (Hickey & Wilkinson Chapman, Dec 2001:46), when the researcher stated, and the chief forester agreed that " There is a need for greater communication between the...[chief forester] and the supervisors in charge of the contracts. [Because] as lead negotiator,...[he] should be informed about problems in executing the contracts, so that such problems can be rectified at the negotiation stage in future contracts". An individual from the

The above illustrates the need for a formal corporate policy in order to ensure that the progress of the partnership is tracked, which in turn increases awareness and participation. Giving aboriginal relations the same weight as other corporate policies will at the same time improve accountability for the commitments made.

7.3.2 Partnership Awareness at the Industry/First Nations Interface

Although several meetings were held between Chief and Council and MWFP between 1999 and 2001 to promote the shared vision for CD, there were several indications in the first year of the research that the community was not adequately informed about the partnership even after a logging contact had been awarded to the AFN and $14,000 and in-kind contributions for the TLUOS had been made. Clear evidence of the lack of community awareness emerged in April 2001, when an individual from the AFN attended a meeting for the purpose of understanding his role in increasing youth involvement in the partnership. That individual became confrontational with MWFP, as he was under the impression that it was the first meeting between the two groups and had no idea that it had been two years since commitments from both parties were made to form a partnership. The researcher consequently approached the AFN Councillors at a Council meeting in May 2001 with a poster and pamphlets about the partnership. The Councillors stated that they were not aware of the partnership between the AFN and MWFP[20]. Between June 2001 and July 2001, the researcher distributed approximately 40 pamphlets about the partnership to Band Councillors and community members. As a result of the initiatives to raise awareness, which included several meetings with Chief and Council, the meaning of CD was explored. Many Councillors initially were not comfortable with the idea of CD, as they thought that it entailed

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operating level responded by stating: "Communications and negotiations should include supervisors, as they are more aware of specific requirements and potential obstacles."

[20] The lack of awareness of the partnership could have also been a result of numerous failed attempts by MWFP to meet with the AFN: Two representatives from MWFP had expressed their frustration about several scheduled meetings with the AFN that did not occur because the representatives of the AFN did not show up. Approaching chief and council at regular council meetings rather than organizing separate meetings with them, was used as strategy by the researcher because of the knowledge that all council members would probably be present.

valuable money being spent for training and were fearful that the training did not guarantee jobs. It was only seven months later, through the distribution and discussion of the evaluations that the researcher had conducted, that Chief and Council as well as MWFP understood the meaning of CD in context of their partnership. A pamphlet (Appendix B) was distributed to highlight the meaning of CD in the context of the partnership and to illustrate that money for training comprised only a fraction of CD.

Following the evaluations of the partnership that culminated in the report by Dr. Hickey and Pia Wilkinson Chapman (Dec 2001) as well as feedback from the researcher to MWFP and the AFN, a meeting was held by all members of Chief and Council, Dr. Hickey and Pia Wilkinson Chapman to discuss effective methods of collaboration. It was only after this meeting, at which the concepts summarized in the pamphlet were elaborated, that Chief and Council felt the need to participate to ensure the future success of the partnership.

The evaluations made in the report had provided a greater understanding of the partnership and CD initiatives. This was an important stepping-stone as the knowledge that MWFP was willing to work with the AFN for the long term encouraged CD to become a focus. Councillors, for example, had commented to the researcher in July 2001 that there were no long-term benefits to working on contracts with MWFP. At the meeting on 29 January, 2002, MWFP guaranteed the AFN that depending on market conditions, the AFN would be granted more contracts once it demonstrated its capability to execute contracts well. The fear that MWFP would not provide long-term employment was real, as one Council Member at the meeting held 6 March, 2002, to discuss the tree-planting project asked: "What will happen if we fail in the [tree-plant] project? Will we no longer get contracts from MWFP?" A representative from MWFP responded "No, it doesn't mean that, but it would mean that we'll be right back where we have started".

Numerous lessons were learned in the process of increasing awareness of the partnership:

1) It is not enough merely to have a vision statement. Awareness of its existence must be promoted continuously and widely within each organization.

2) Significant time is required to enhance awareness of CD, as CD is a relatively new concept. Since CD is also contextual, time is required for both parties to learn about the specific needs so as to develop the most appropriate CD strategies.

3) It is not enough to have posters and pamphlets without a discussion of their contents. Despite the distribution of pamphlets describing the partnership, one Council Member's comments on 3 October, 2001, indicated that the term 'partnership' had not been clearly communicated. The term partnership in this case did not mean that both parties share the same commercial risks and profits. The long-term goal of the partnership, however, is for the AFN to share the risks and profits with MWFP. Presently the purpose of the partnership is to aid the AFN in the process of achieving that goal through CD strategies.

4) Given that Council Members are an important link with the community, and that the goal of the CD is to increase community participation, the most successful strategy to increase awareness of the partnership was through efforts to make Council members aware of the partnership. Two important outcomes were: 1) As a result of the awareness raised a year after the initiation of the project, Councillors for the first time willingly attended two meetings at the beginning of 2002 that gave rise to the formation of a committee; 2) Valuable strategic suggestions from Councillors were made to enhance community participation, including the inclusion of community resource persons and the assigning of responsibilities to individuals from the community for advertising and hiring for the employment opportunities.

7.4 Committee with Representatives from Alexis First Nation and Millar Western Forest Products

The researcher initially proposed the idea for the formation of a committee during a meeting in July 2001, when the contents of the draft of the report (Hickey and Wilkinson Chapman, Dec, 2001) that contained the evaluation of the past contracts were discussed. The initial idea proposed was to have a hiring committee for the purpose of combating problems of nepotism, which individuals from both parties agreed were the root cause of numerous problems in executing the contracts and the TLUOS. Following the meeting, however, numerous barriers to communication prevented the idea of forming a committee from taking effect. Barriers to communications included: 1) the lack of feedback to Chief and Council about the details of the projects from those members of the community who were involved in them (Chief and Council were not aware of the relevant issues and were therefore not able to make any decisions to combat them). Indeed, Chief and Council were not even aware of the logging contract of Dec, 2001; and, 2) False rumors about MWFP and the AFN partnership that gave the impression that the relationship was strained and incapable of functioning properly.

Through monitoring and evaluating the partnership, which was done through investigations of the rumors, as well as updates, interviews and attendance at four Council meetings following the meeting in July 2001, the realization that CD strategies needed to be addressed emerged on both sides. Discussions at the meetings held by both parties on 29 January, 2002, and 6 March, 2002, consequently concentrated on ways in which to combat the problems of the past. One of the outcomes of the first meeting was the formation of a committee composed of representatives of MWFP and the AFN to address CD issues relevant to the partnership. Four persons, two from MWFP and two from the AFN, agreed to sit on the committee. In addition, two resource persons from the community were designated to perform some duties: the AFN band administrator, who would be in charge of invoicing, and the head of the HRD to be responsible for orientation, such as open house presentations for the contracts and the Annual Operating Plan (AOP). It was also suggested that the representatives of MWFP strategies and would attend the meetings held to discuss the contracts. They would also be responsible for holding open house presentations for the contracts. It was also decided that the committee would be responsible for monitoring and evaluating the TLUOS, and that the TLUOS coordinator would be responsible for updating the committee about the progress of the TLUOS.

Since a chairperson was not designated for the committee the monitoring and evaluations done by the researcher put her in the position of acting alongside the Chief Forester as coordinator and chairperson until March 2002. The formation of the committee meant the creation of an organization that was transparent and sensitive to the realities of collaboration through CD strategies. Following the formation of the committee, for example, meetings for the tree-planting contract looked not only at the future requirements of the project, but also at past barriers of communication and production. Having both parties actively involved provided a forum in which both parties understood the realities of collaboration. The meeting on 12 February, 2002, which was organized to review the TLUOS, also provided a forum for understanding the significance of the TLUOS and previous communication barriers.

Although the representatives of the AFN and MWFP had been given the authority to form the committee by Chief and Council, as well as the Chief Forester and Woodlands Manager of MWFP, a resolution was not adopted by either group to stipulate the limits of the powers of the committee. The lack of an organizational structure stating the objectives, mandate, quorum, chairperson, terms of office, vacancies, meetings, confidentiality, rules of procedure and annual reports resulted in a dysfunctional committee. Since no resolution was passed to legitimize the powers of the committee, the ability of the committee to monitor and evaluate projects was limited. There were three other factors that contributed to the dysfunction of the committee which could have been prevented had the rules and procedures been established: 1) An election in June, 2002, of a new

AFN Chief and Council and the termination of office of those Council Members on the committee[21]; 2) The sole contractor from the community, who is the only community member with managerial and supervisory skills, and the only Councillor re-elected, was not interested in the idea of the committee; and 3) Market conditions of the forest industry resulted in a decrease in the number of contracts awarded by MWFP, as a result of which only one tree-planting contract was awarded to AFN. There was therefore little need for the committee to meet.

Lessons Learned

1) The process of creating an organizational structure that is adapted and relevant to the social, cultural and economic situation of the AFN and MWFP took time to assess. The research on the partnership provided some ideas about the unarticulated but desirable social, cultural and economic characteristics of the partnership. Conducted by an outsider, the evaluations provided a neutral understanding of what issues needed to be addressed and allowed both parties to discuss how the partnership could be better organized.

2) A resolution to form the committee, however, was necessary to ensure that the rules of procedure and the roles of each party were adequately defined to ensure the proper functioning and even the survival of the institution. Due to the lack of clarity about the organization, numerous problems arose from the start: 1) one Council Member wanted to become a member of the committee although he had not been appointed by Chief and Council to sit on the committee. Given that there were no established rules and because he was a Council Member with significant authority, it was difficult to assess whether he could be excluded from the committee; 2) the researcher had to continue to clarify the roles of individuals as resource persons. Some members thought that they were part of the committee and wanted the authority to oversee projects.

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[21] At a meeting with the new Chief and Council in June 2001 MWFP used the reports written by Hickey and Wilkinson Chapman (December 2001 and May 2002) to illustrate past and present initiatives of the partnership. Whether the new Chief and Council wishes to pursue the partnership in the direction in which it was going prior to their election will be up to their discretion.

3) As a result of the lack of written rules related to *ex officio* members, there was confusion as to whether Councillors who were *ex officio* members of the committee ceased to be so when they were not re-elected to Council. If the rules of procedure had had a clause stating that in the case of *ex officio* members, the person assuming the relevant office would automatically fill the vacancy so occurring on the committee, the new Councillor would have assumed those positions, thereby allowing the continuation of the committee.

4) Although there were some evaluations conducted on the projects, no-one has been mandated to compile the data. As a result, the ability of both organizations to look back and accurately understand the development progress will be seriously compromised. The long-term goal of CD will not be easily met, as future projects will find it difficult to build on and learn from past projects. This may create a situation of lack of awareness and lead to unnecessary repetition of CD strategies.

5) The involvement of the head of HRD was beneficial, as she was able to organize other persons in the department to share responsibilities. She, for example, arranged for a junior person in the HRD to make the posters and do the postings for the tree-planting contract of 2002. Another benefit was that she was better able to identify the community members who were benefiting from employment. For example, she found that one individual who was receiving Employment Insurance benefits had not informed her that he had also been receiving income from the tree-planting project. It was only after considerable investigation that she was able to put a stop to the Employment Insurance benefits.

7.4.1 Participatory Monitoring and Evaluation

From 2000-2002, although the AFN and MWFP worked collaboratively[22] with the researcher in providing information on the progress of the contracts that provided valuable information for this research, the monitoring and evaluation and compilation of data were conducted by the researcher alone rather than by the two parties in a participatory fashion. The inability to conduct PM&E can be attributed to two principal reasons: 1) both parties were unfamiliar with working together and therefore did not understand what CD entailed; 2) the lack of an organizational structure so that feedback could facilitate a focus on CD.

The inability to obtain feedback was frustrating not only to the researcher but also to the members of the AFN and MWFP. Five individuals from MWFP, for example, stated that they never knew to whom they should talk within the AFN regarding issues that came up. Indeed, even the members of the AFN did not know to whom they should put questions. MWFP has received telephone calls with questions ranging from who was in charge of the contracts and to whom to speak to regarding certain issues. Some of the AFN crews had also called MFWP with questions that could or should be handled by those in charge from the AFN. In addition, the communication barrier at the industry level between the Chief Forester and the operating level in Whitecourt described under section 7.3.1: 'Corporate Policy to include the AFN', prevented monitoring and evaluations from being properly conducted.

The lack of a clear organizational structure to provide mechanisms of feedback and the barriers at the community level described in the next section in 7.5.2: 'Barriers at the Community Level in Capacity Development', resulted in the cessation of the partnership by December, 2001. The researcher recognized that the partnership had come to a halt when the AFN supervisor had not organized the 2001 logging contract. As well, the Chief Forester's attempts to organize a meeting with the AFN to go over the future of the partnership had not been successful. Since MWFP had been communicating only with the AFN supervisor, as he was designated by the Chief to work with MWFP, the researcher contacted the Chief to inform him about the situation. The Chief immediately called the Chief Forester to arrange a meeting. The meeting on 29 January, 2002, was consequently organized, and new strategies for CD were formulated in concert with both parties.

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[22] With the exception of the TLUOS coordinator from the AFN, who did not wish to cooperate with the researcher.

The meeting of 29 January, 2002, illustrated that monitoring and evaluations were greatly beneficial in increasing community and industry participation and in reducing communication and production barriers. The willingness of both parties to spend hours with the researcher in meetings and interviews and in the provision of updates and even transportation illustrated their wish to work together to improve the partnership. The monitoring and evaluations illustrated to both parties that it was better to compile data about progress to determine the strategies that worked and those that did not work without fear of straining the partnership.

The reality of the progress toward the two long-term goals of the partnership, which are to foster the capacity of the AFN to assume an equitable role in forest management and to assist MWFP to work more equitably with the AFN, however, is far from having been achieved. The AFN does not have an organization that can work cooperatively and effectively with MWFP in order to represent and manage the interests of the AFN in the forest.

The partnership between the AFN and MWFP over the two-year span did progress in a positive direction. The strategies to enhance collaboration, training and learning are, however, recent. Based on Sharma, Miller and Reeder's (1990) model (see Figure 6.1) on the necessary four developmental stages of CD: 1) Partnership Awareness, 2) Partnership Initiatives, 3) Development of Partnership Expansion and, 4) Re-direction of Partnership, it appears that the partnership has only just completed the first stage, as previous contracts did not take CD into account. Through such strategies for CD as the tree-planting contract (2002), there is hope that the AFN will achieve adequate capacity for the partnership to move to the second and fourth stages.

The case study of the MWFP/AFN partnership elicits four main ideas relating to CD: 1) CD cannot be solely managed by a few individuals but has to occur in collaboration with all key individuals involved; 2) A committee can provide a transparent organization and increase participation and authority to oversee partnership development; 3) Monitoring and evaluations must be intrinsic components of the initiative; 4) CD strategies have to have a component of 'development' that yields mutual and tangible benefits so as to provide an incentive for both parties to maintain their commitment. In the brush saw project (2000), for example, CD strategies were established through the partnering of less experienced crews with experienced crews until the less experienced crews had gained enough experience to work on their own. The following year, however, only two individuals who had worked on the previous contract returned, together with thirteen other inexperienced individuals including the foreman and his assistant. Thus the knowledge of CD and the experience gained during the brush contract, including the need for orientation to brush sawing, were lost. MWFP had to consequently carry the cost of training the foreman and the crews for the second time.

7.4.2 Communication

Research in the past two years has revealed that the AFN members prefer working with people face to face rather than through telephone, fax or e-mail. One of the Members of Council expressed this view at a meeting by demonstrating what happened to the December 2001 report on the partnership between the AFN and MWFP: One Council member took the report and put it under the table, saying that it is often not looked at but would instead be hidden under piles of papers or in a desk[23]. The researcher responded by saying "That is why I attended Council meetings regularly to go over the report."

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[23] Approximately 30 copies were distributed to the AFN alone.

This approach to learning, as well as the fact that the partnership is in its infancy, resulted in a situation in which the responsibilities of the individuals involved in the committee were made clear only after the two meetings held on 21 February and 6 March, 2002, as well as after two interviews between the individuals and the researcher, despite the fact the minutes of both meetings had been circulated.

A more significant effect of the AFN's approach to learning was the conflict caused when the AFN and MWFP communicated through different means with respect to MWFP's harvesting practices around the AFN's reserve land: MWFP communicated through documents and the AFN through verbal and visual means. From 2000 to 2001 research revealed that all Band Councillors were concerned about the harvesting practices of MWFP around their reserve land at Whitecourt, which, they claim, had disturbed trap lines. Chief and Council stated that they would like to be made aware of MWFP's future harvesting plans around the reserve area. Further investigation, however, demonstrated that MWFP had consistently informed the AFN about its practices around their reserve land through documents: The Engineering and Planning Supervisor of MWFP stated that: "The Preliminary Harvest Plan (PHP) for Baseline Lake was discussed with . . . [the] development officer at the time, as I met with him personally when I was putting this plan together back in 1996 (actual date Dec 10/96). Subsequent Annual Operating Plans (AOP) for Baseline Lake (Annual Operating Plans are a subset of blocks and roads from the PHP) have been sent to the Band office addressed to the Chief. This is done annually" (e-mail of 29 January, 2002).

The Chief Forester from MWFP remedied this situation through an e-mail response to the Engineering and Planning Supervisor that was copied to the researcher: "At the meeting yesterday [29 January, 2002] it was brought up that we did communicate the plan in the fashion you just described. The end result is that a planned open house or presentation to Council is needed. This should be done for any work in the Baseline, Carson Creek, Carson Lake or Goodwin Lake areas. I do not know how much work is being done in these areas this winter, but it would be a good idea to set something up that covers recent past activities and any work for the upcoming few years. We can then update the presentation on an annual basis to include their entire Traditional Area [which would be identified by the TLUOS] " (e-mail of 30 January, 2002).

MWFP has also realized the importance of communicating issues verbally and in person, rather than solely through documents and has consequently decided to hold open house presentations not only for the PHP and AOP, but also for the contracts, so that all issues are understood by both parties and all concerned individuals.

The evaluations of the partnership demonstrates that textual information should be accompanied by discussions at all stages to clarify issues and promote understanding of capacity to collaborate and organize the process of building the right capacity.

7.4.3 Funding

The Partnership has taken some advantage of provincial and federal resource programs for assistance and guidance for the TLUOS. MWFP and the AFN are currently researching other available resources to understand how they could cooperatively access them.

7.4.4 Consultant

In 1999, MWPF and the AFN together identified and chose a consultant with whom they both felt comfortable. So far, however, there has been no need to use that consultant.

7.5 Economic Development

7.5.1 Initiatives to Enhance the Capacity of the Alexis First Nation

From December 1999 to July 2002 eight contracts were awarded to the AFN. Table 7.2 lists the details of those contracts.

TABLE 7.2 CONTRACTS AWARDED TO THE ALEXIS FIRST NATION (1999-2002)

Contract	Year	Number of Persons employed from AFN	Number of Persons employed from outside the AFN and their role	Number of Contractors and Role, hired from outside the AFN	Value of Contract	Contract Completion
Logging	Winter 1999-2000	4	2 – experienced loggers	2 – delimbing	$175,000	No. 4,000/15,000 m^3. Reason: the AFN stopped working thinking that the work was completed when only 4,000 m^3 was completed.
Brush saw	Summer 2000	10-15 (10 full-time workers)	1- Supervisor	0	$150.000	Yes. An additional 33 hectares were granted to the AFN which they completed
Pile Burning	January 2001	6	0	0	$12,500	Yes
Logging	Winter 2000-2001	4	1- experienced logger	1	$175,000	No. 9,000/15,000 m^3. For the reason that ABC went into receivership
Tree-Planting.	Summer 2001	18	16 – supervision and experienced planters	0	$125,000	Yes
Brush saw	Summer 2001	15	0	0	$150,000	Yes
Logging	December 2001	0	0	0	5,000 cubic meters	Contract not started because overhead costs would have exceeded the value gained from the project
Tree-Planting	July 2002	14	0	0	300,000 trees	In Progress

MWFP had been sensitive to the fact that the AFN was at the stage where training and adaptation to forestry activity were priorities, since many members did not have much experience in forestry-related activities. MWFP therefore granted the AFN fairly easy cut blocks. In both the brush saw contracts (2000 and 2001), for example, the AFN was given areas where the brush was not very thick. The AFN was also granted easy terrain in the tree-planting contract (2001).

Formal training was also arranged in August 2000, when MWFP subsidized half of the course fee for three AFN members to participate in a brush saw training course that was held from September 8-14. $850.00 per person was paid by MWFP in the interest of creating long-term brush saw instructors within the AFN.

Training also occurred informally. For example, the contractor was given advise by MWFP about the process of bid submission in respect to expected standards and costs. Many of the supervisors from MWFP also commented that they are expected to provide continuous support to members of the AFN, but not to other contractors. Initially, for example, the supervisor from the community did not have a lot of experience in preparing bids. MWFP therefore provided information on what was expected, such as timelines, prices, and personnel. At the same time, MWFP and the supervisor assessed what the community could provide and what experience was needed for the successful completion of the contracts.

Initially, the supervisor of the contracts from the AFN recognized that no member from the AFN had the experience to take on the role of a foreman. He also understood that a certain percentage of skilled workers were needed for the tree-planting contract that the AFN did not have. Persons from outside the community were consequently hired in order to carry out the contracts effectively. It was thought that CD strategies would be employed by partnering less experienced persons with more experienced persons including job shadowing for the position of the foreman to ensure that in future projects a majority of the employees would be hired from the community. It was left up the supervisor from the AFN to ensure that CD was pursued at the community level since he was in charge of the contracts. Many barriers to CD described in the next section, however, prevented CD from occurring.

Only the tree-planting project (2002) incorporated CD, as it was the only contract that based its strategies on the past evaluations of projects from 2000-2002.

7.5.2 Barriers to Capacity Development at the Community Level

Numerous barriers in training, education and development from 2000 to 2001 at the community level prevented genuine CD from being practiced and in some cases resulted in increased tensions between the AFN and MWFP. It was only through the joint assessments of the contracts in the meetings held in January 2002 that solutions to the problems were addressed. These barriers in training, education and development respectively will be discussed followed by a summary of the solutions that were applied in the tree-planting contract (2002).

7.5.2.1 Barriers to Training

The following examples provide illustrations of the types of problems that prevented the AFN from taking full advantage of training opportunities:

1) Two of the three individuals who attended the brush saw training course held from September 8-14, 2000 quit a few days after the brush saw contract began. The goal of MWFP and the AFN, who each contributed $850.00 per person, was to create long-term brush saw instructors within the AFN. The expected benefits of the training were clearly not met;

2) The involvement of 16 AFN members in a two-and-a-half week tree- planting contract (2001) did not provide enough training because of the short duration of the contract[24]. As a result there are still very few skilled tree planters from the AFN who are capable of training other individuals from the community for the next year's contract. The probability that the AFN can hire most of the needed

crews from within the community for the next tree-planting contract is therefore low. Table 7.3 indicates that, as a result of the inexperienced pool of individuals in the AFN, only 16 of 34 band members were hired from the community. The other 18 tree planters were non-aboriginal persons. The non-aboriginal persons were not informed about the partnership between the AFN and MWFP and the need to enhance the capacity of the AFN crews. One method of increasing the training capacity would have been for inexperienced persons to be partnered with experienced workers. The experienced crew, however, worked separately and at a greater speed than the AFN crews. As a consequence, the productivity of the AFN crews did not substantially increase over time. Figure 7.2 illustrates the number of trees planted by the AFN crews versus the total number of trees planted by the non-AFN crews.

4) One informant from MWFP stated that, in the tree-planting contract (2001), many of the AFN planters refused to take the instructions from the non-AFN planters. The AFN planters were not aware of any CD strategies to enhance their production. Perhaps the AFN planters would have been more open to being mentored if they had been told beforehand that one method of improving their productivity would be to take advise from experienced workers. As a consequence of the failure to inform them, criticisms of the work done by the AFN crews that were made either by the AFN foremen or by MWFP's representative were often seen as personal attacks rather than as constructive criticism.

7.5.2.2 Barriers to Education

MWFP made a program available that was oriented toward students enrolled in forestry, natural resource and engineering programs. MWFP guaranteed the AFN three out of 12 positions in its summer student program for those who are enrolled in a post-secondary program at an institution that is recognized by MWFP, such as the Northern Alberta Institute of Technology (NAIT) and the University of

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[24] On average it takes approximately 2 seasons (3-4 months for each season) of tree-planting to become skilled tree-planters.

TABLE 7.3

Production Table of the the Tree Planting Contract (2001)

Alexis First Nations Tree Planting Crew, First Nations Members Only

	2-Jul	4-Jul	5-Jul	6-Jul	8-Jul	9-Jul	10-Jul	11-Jul	July12+14	15-Jul	16-Jul	17-Jul	18-Jul	Totals
1 A	0	255	255	510	765	510	255	510	510	510	765	0	0	4845
2 B	510	765	510	765	510	765	255	1020	255	765	765	765	1275	8925
3 C	510	1020	Absent	510	1020	1275	510	1530	255	1275	Absent	765	1020	9690
4 D	510	765	1275	255	1020	1020	1020	1020	1275	1275	1020	Hurt	———	10455
5 E	765	765	1020	510	1275	1020	1020	1275	255	1020	765	1020	1147	11857
6 F	510	765	765	765	1275	1020	1020	1275	1275	1275	1020	1530	1020	13515
7 G	510	1275	1785	900	1275	1020	1530	1530	1785	Absent	1020	1020	1530	15180
8 H	510	1785	1785	1020	1530	1785	1785	1275	1530	1530	1020	1275	0	16830
9 I	Foreman	———	Quit	———	———	———	———	———	———	———	———	———	———	0
10 J	Foreman	———	———	———	———	———	———	———	———	———	———	———	———	0
11 K	N/A	Tree Mover	———	———	———	———	———	———	———	Absent	———	765	0	765
12 L	510	1020	Absent	510	Absent	1020	Absent	Absent	1275	1020	Absent	765	1020	7140
13 M	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	765	Absent	1530	1785	1275	Sick	1020	1530	7905
14 N	0	765	510	510	255	Quit	———	———	———	———	———	———	———	2040
15 O	510	765	765	Quit	———	———	———	———	———	———	———	———	———	2040
16 P	0	510	0	Absent	510	———	———	———	———	———	———	———	———	1020
17 Q	0	Quit	Cooks helper		———	———	———	———	———	———	———	———	———	0
18 R	255	Quit	———	———	———	———	———	———	———	———	———	———	———	255

Total Man Days 119 Totals 112462

Average Productivity (Trees/Day) 945.0588

Percentage Of Trees 22.65%

Alexis First Nations Tree Planting Crew, Non-Members Only

														Totals
19 A	1530	1020	2295	1020	2040	1530	2295	2040	1913	1530	1530	2040	2040	22823
20 B	1530	1020	2295	1020	2040	1530	Hurt	———	———	———	———	———	———	9435
21 C	1785	2040	2040	1275	2295	1530	2550	2040	2550	1530	2040	1785	2040	25500
22 D	2040	2040	2040	1275	2295	1658	2550	2040	2550	1785	2040	1785	2295	26393
23 E	2040	1785	1785	1402	2040	2040	1530	2040	2295	1275	1275	1785	2295	23587
24 F	2550	2295	2040	1148	2295	2550	2040	2295	2295	1530	1275	2805	3060	28178
25 G	3315	3825	4080	1785	3060	3315	2550	4080	4845	2040	3060	3315	3187	42457
26 H	3315	3570	4335	1785	3570	3060	3570	4080	4335	2040	3060	3060	3060	42840
27 I	3315	3060	3570	1275	3060	3570	2550	3825	4335	2040	3060	2550	2805	39015
28 J	2805	2550	4590	2040	Sick	3060	3060	3060	4080	2805	2550	3315	3060	36975
29 K	2805	2550	4590	2040	3570	3060	3060	3060	4080	2805	2550	3315	3060	40545
30 L	1530	1530	1530	1020	2040	1658	2040	2040	1913	1530	1530	2040	2809	23210
31 M	2295	2040	2550	1020	1530	1530	2040	1785	2550	1275	1275	1785	1530	23205
32 N	Foreman	———	———	———	———	———	———	———	———	———	———	———	———	———
33 O	Foreman	———	———	———	———	———	———	———	———	———	———	———	———	———
34 P	Supervisor	———	———	———	———	———	———	———	———	———	———	———	———	———
Daily Totals	35955	39780	46410	24360	39270	40291	37230	43350	47941	32130	31620	38505	39783	

Total Man Days 161 Total Planted 384163

Average Productivity (Trees/Day) 2386.106

Percent Of Trees 77.35%

All together totalled 496625

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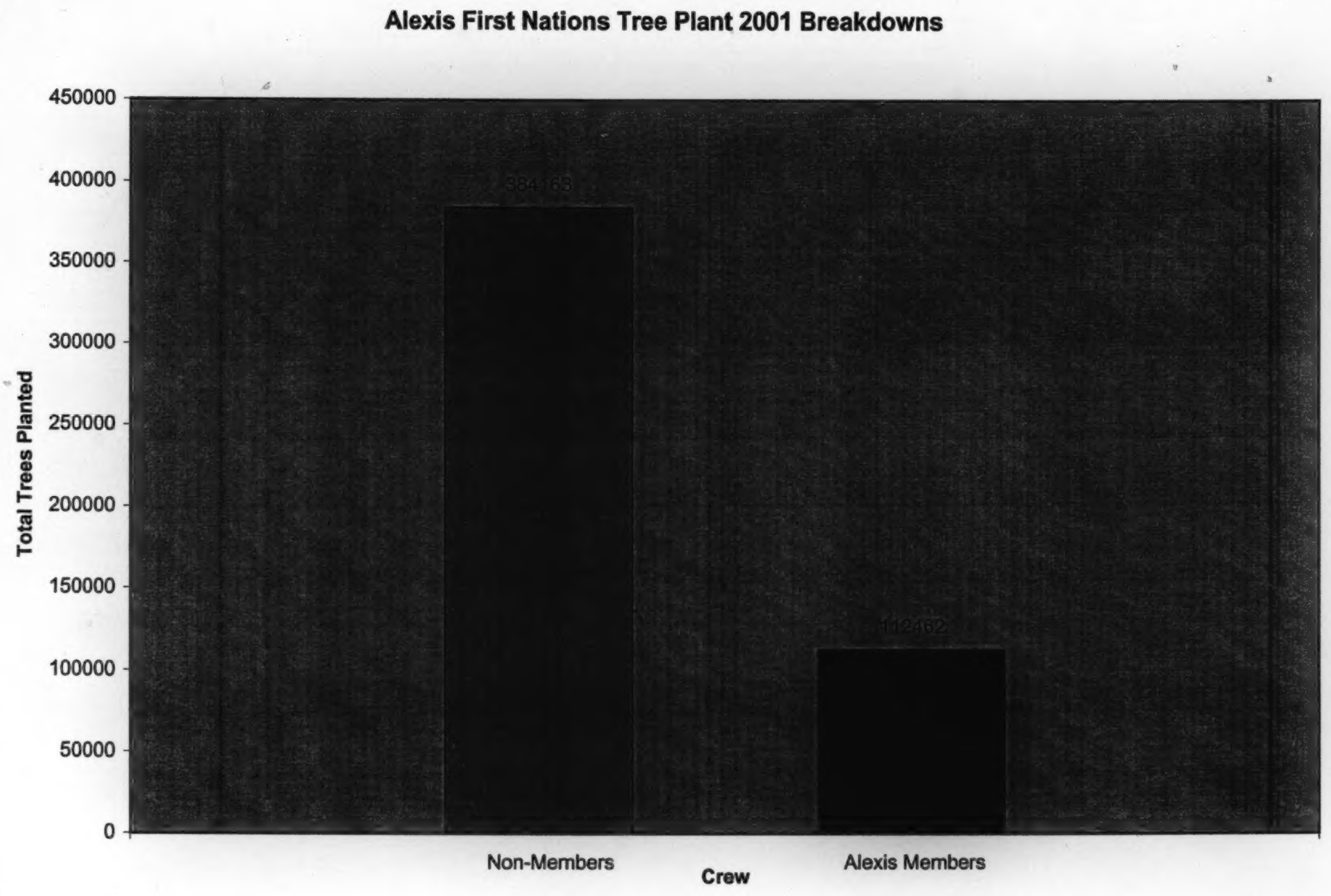
FIGURE 7.2



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Alberta or other institutions outside the province. MWFP does not, however, pay for any travel, camp or food expenses. Rather, students hired from the AFN are treated in the same way as the other students. The only difference in treatment is the guarantee of three positions, which non-AFN students do not have. This program had been available to the AFN since 1999.

One person from the AFN was responsible for informing the community about this program and to find interested students. That person was not, however, paid for the responsibility. The person in charge of the program came to know about it only in March 2001. In August 2001, one member of the AFN took up MWFP's offer. He was at that time enrolled in a forestry program at NAIT and was made aware of the opportunity by someone other than the person in charge of informing people about the program.

The barriers to taking advantage of the education program were: 1) There are not many students enrolled in forestry, natural resource or engineering programs; and, 2) A concerted effort to inform members of the community about this program was not made. According to the person in charge of the program, for example, there were no AFN students enrolled in forestry, natural resource or engineering programs. He commented that he only knew of two persons who had degrees in forestry at the AFN, one who is with Parks Canada and the other with the Province of Alberta. In reality, however, there was one student that was enrolled in a forestry program. Whether there were others who were interested in the program is difficult to know because the information about the program was passed through word of mouth.

7.5.2.3 Barriers to Development

7.5.2.3.1 Orientation

There was a lack of orientation given in all of the projects. The following examples illustrate the numerous problems that arose in production as a result:

1) One informant from MWFP stated that the foremen from the AFN were not properly informed about the contract expectations before work began. The foremen only learned about the requirements at the pre-work briefing session when a MWFP representative gives an intensive coverage of safety issues and contract requirements. The quality of work was initially poor, but it improved over time as the foremen became more familiar with the guidelines.[25] As a consequence of the lack of understanding of contract obligation, the crews and foremen of the AFN did not see quality as a priority. In the brush saw contract (2001), for example, five people quit after they were told to re-do a block. The foremen were paid to check quality plots, but MWFP's representative ended up doing the quality pay plots. Even though MWFP's representative was willing to train the AFN foremen to do the quality pay plots, the foremen did not see it as a priority and therefore were unable to find time to be trained. The foremen also did not check quality regularly during the day's work. In the tree-planting contract (2001) as well, there were numerous problems pertaining to quality. Figure 7.3 is a graph of the quality production of the tree-planting contract (2001). It illustrates that quality did not rise over time, but instead decreased because of the lack of the AFN's foremen's interest and knowledge in planting quality. MWFP's acceptable planting standard for full payment is 95%. Fines are assessed for any percentage below 95%. In the same contract, a recurring problem in communicating with the AFN crews was that they did not ask for clarification of instructions that they did not understand.

Immediately after receiving the instructions the AFN crews would nevertheless say that they had understood what had been said. Only when it became obvious through their work that the instructions had not been followed would the crews

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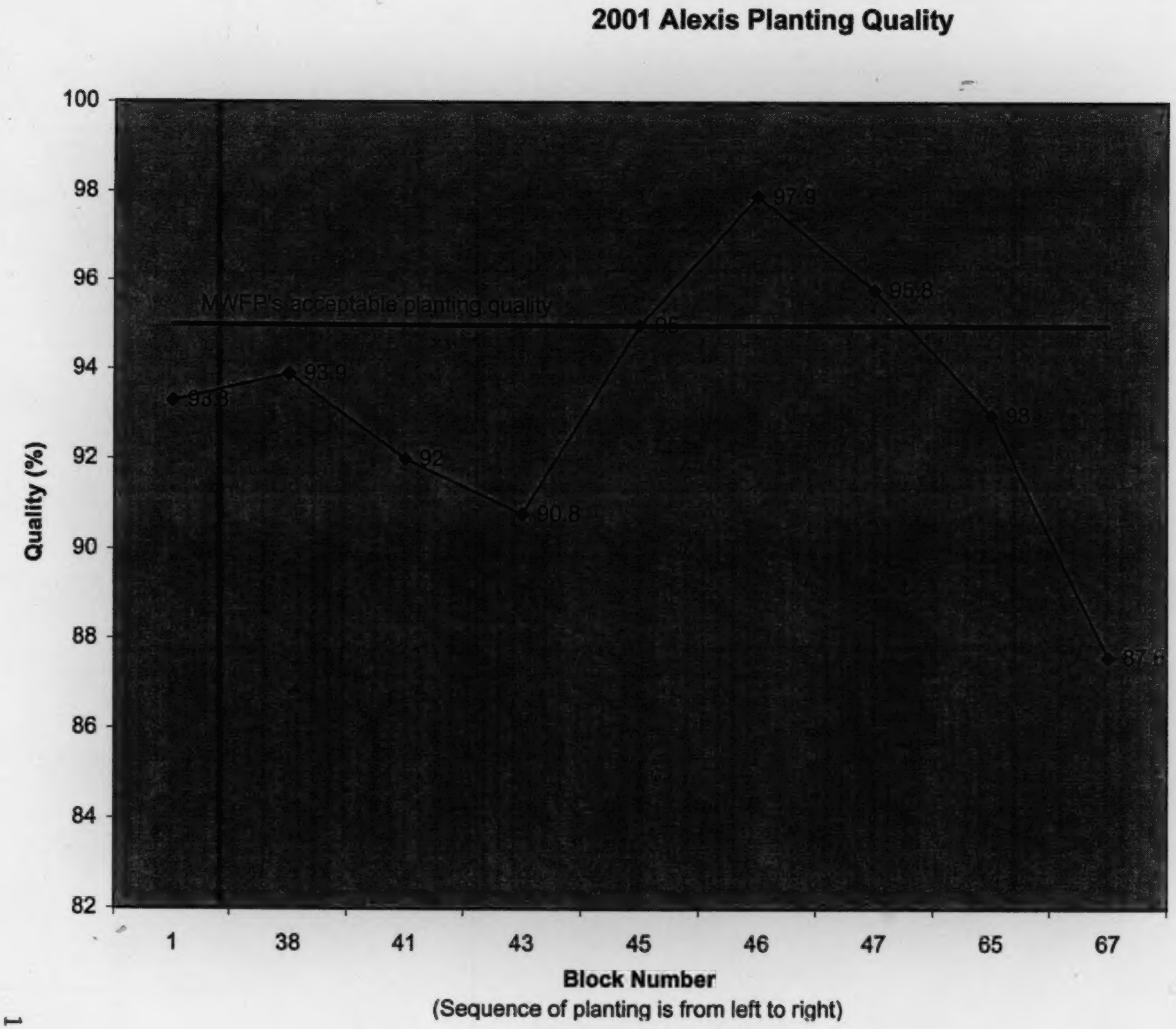
[25] Although it is common practice in most contracts to hire a foreman only a few days prior to contract start, since the AFN does not have a large pool of qualified individuals to choose from, training should be given to the foremen ahead of time so that they are better prepared.

FIGURE 7.3



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admit that they had not understood them. If individuals had been oriented to the work prior to work start-up this problem might not have occurred[26];

2) Although there was a safety-oriented attitude among the AFN crews, MWFP's guidelines and policies were often compromised: in the tree-planting contract (2001), for example, one complaint was that there were frequently more individuals in a truck than there were seat belts; second, in both the tree-planting and brush saw contracts (2001) individuals often did not wear their hardhats; third, in the brush saw contract (2001), there were no radios on blocks for a couple of days after the foreman quit, hence no communication between foremen and workers in remote blocks was possible in the event of an accident; fourth, in the brush saw contract (2001), the AFN foremen did not hold the required weekly safety meetings;

3) Individuals hired for the logging contract (1999) stopped working because they thought that the 15,000 m^3 had been completed, when in fact only 4,000 m^3 had been completed. This indicated that considerable improvement in communication was needed between MWFP's personnel who measure the volume and the AFN foreman. This could also have indicated that the AFN foreman had not understood his job.

7.5.2.3.2 Hiring

Gossip, as well as explicit statements, suggested that kin affiliations rather than work experience or qualifications were the deciding factor in who would be hired. Interviews on 18 July, 2001, with nine band members working on the tree-planting contract revealed that only two had submitted a résumé. The remaining seven expressed the view that they had been hired because they were related to influential members of the community. Similarly, no member of the crews working on the brush saw contract (2001) handed in a résumé, but all admitted that they were asked to work by their relatives, who were influential members of the community. Although Council in April, 2001, designated one person to hire students for the tree-planting contract (2001), four of the crew working on the tree-planting contract stated that students were asked to enroll at the last minute. Information was also transmitted by word of mouth rather than through postings ahead of time.

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[26] One informant from MWFP recommended that the foremen of the AFN be trained prior to the pre-work briefing sessions about the contract obligations. This would reduce the time spent in the field, as the foremen would be making progress with training the crews and quality production rather than being trained themselves. The daily cost for the contract would in turn be reduced. An additional benefit would be improved communication between the AFN's representatives and MWFP's representatives about the work requirements and progress.

The numerous problems that arose as a result were: 1) In all of the contracts, many individuals who were interested only in making a quick dollar were given the opportunity to do so. Consequently some individuals quit after they had made sufficient money; 2) On the tree planting project, three of the students slacked off throughout the project and slowed down production. Research indicated that these individuals were employed because of their kinship affiliation. According to one of the older AFN workers these individuals were given sufficient money by their parents and therefore did not see making money as a priority;[27] 3) Key positions, such as foremen, were given to individuals because of their affiliations, not their interest to do the work. Consequently their inability to perform the work adequately created numerous frustrations, as well as a reduction in production quality. In the case of the brush saw project, it appeared as if the supervisor reluctantly gave authority to the newly trained foreman, not because he was the best candidate for the job (both parties agreed that the individual had not demonstrated leadership skills), but out of a sense obligation arising from the fact that the individual was the supervisor's elder[28].

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[27] Given that tree-planting is laborious and tedious, individuals are usually screened during the hiring process for their interest in making money, as they are paid according to the number of trees they plant.

[28] One informant stated that conflicts could arise for cultural reasons when elders work under supervisors younger than themselves. Elders, who are respected for their advanced years and who have some influence and authority within the community, find it difficult to take orders from a younger person. As a result, they may be reluctant to communicate their problems or their needs to the supervisor. The elder (also the newly trained foreman), for example, commented that he would rather speak to MWFP than to the supervisor regarding pertinent issues.

7.5.2.3.3 Leadership and Administration

There are very few individuals within the AFN who can take on the role of a supervisor. No-one interviewed from the AFN could identify any member other than the present contractor from the community who is qualified to take on that role. This has created some setbacks. For example, many persons interviewed from both the AFN and MWFP commented that because the contractor has his own business to run, he is not able to be in the field as often as needed[29]. Second, although the contractor had significant experience in the oil and gas sector, he did not have the necessary knowledge of administering forestry contracts. The following examples illustrate the problems associated with the supervisor's lack of knowledge in: calculating the value of the contract; administration; and overhead costs, respectively.

1) Calculating the Value for Contracts:

The supervisor did not understand the costs involved in contracts in general. For example, after the AFN's consultant had estimated the cost of the brush saw contract (2000), the AFN added 40% to the estimate without an explanation. Similarly, after work on the brush saw contract (2000) had begun, the AFN asked for another $15 per hectare without justifying the need;

2) Administration

One informant from MWFP stated that the newly trained foreman left in charge of the brush saw contract (2000) did not have easy access to money to purchase needed supplies. As a result, when the foreman and the supervisor were away, he had to speak to MWFP to get the supplies that he needed. As someone in charge, he should have had easier access to money to help production[30].

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[29] The words of one informant from MWFP capture the frustration of this problem: "AFN does not understand MWFP's obligations and costs, because they don't understand the business. Their superior is in Montana or Ft. St. John – anywhere but the worksite. Even then, he doesn't understand production, costs, etc. related to a successful program. If AFN insists on running its own contracts without understanding the business – well, don't blame us if your costs are high and you can't make any money."

There were also numerous administrative problems with the pile burning contract: Two informants from MWFP stated that the AFN crews employed on the pile burning contract (2001) paid for all of its supplies out of their own pockets. They were later reimbursed. The risk that people might not be able to complete the job because of a lack of funds is high and should be avoided. Further, an invoice for the pile-burning contract should have been submitted in January, 2001 but was only done after MWFP contacted the AFN in June 2001.

3) Overhead Costs:

In the logging contract (1999-2000), the supervisor chose to use feller bunchers that cost him around $150 per hour to operate rather than using simple technology such as skidders and chain saws. Since no-one from the community had the experience to operate the feller bunchers, individuals from outside the community had to be hired. If simpler technology had been used, money could have been diverted to individuals from the community, and the overhead costs would have been lower.

Similarly, in the tree-planting contract (2001), the supervisor spent a significant amount of money on buying equipment that would have been cheaper to rent.

In the brush saw contract (2000), camp costs were $65 per person per day. The camp was located on the AFN reserve (#232) in Whitecourt. According to a representative of MWFP, tent camps would have been more economical as they should cost $20 less per person a day. They would have also greatly reduced travel cost and lost time by being near the worksite.

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[30] This was probably due to the reluctance the supervisor had in giving this job to the newly trained foreman, as the supervisor felt obligated to give the job to him because he was an elder and whom he did not trust entirely with the supervision.

7.5.2.3.4 Youth and Women

Students had been involved in the summer contracts. Only three women were interested in working on a contract. All three women worked on the tree-planting contract (2001). One woman, however, had to leave prior to the end of the contract, as she could not organize childcare for her children. A teacher at the Alexis training center had indicated that it is quite difficult for women to find people to take care of their children and many women therefore compromise their education and work. In a speech given by the Chief of the AFN at a graduation ceremony that the researcher attended, the Chief indicated that 75 percent of AFN members registered in education programs are women. He recognized that more needed to be done to encourage women's participation in all areas of employment. The AFN, however, has not actively developed strategies to assist women to work on the contracts, such as organizing childcare. This is however understandable as the contracts were viewed by many as short-term.

7.5.3 Barriers toward Economic Development at the Band Level

There were numerous indications that band politics played a role in preventing the partnership from operating smoothly. As one Council Member put it, "We don't question other Band Councillors portfolios." As a consequence, two informants stated that problems with the progress of the contracts are never brought up at Council meetings. Rather, Council was merely told that a bid for a contract was put in. Two problems arose as a consequence: 1) The economic development part of the partnership was left up to the AFN supervisor to develop by himself, a task which he could not manage on his own because CD requires tremendous time and effort, which his busy schedule could not allow; 2) Unfounded rumors that suggested that MWFP had breached the 2000-2001 logging contract without the consent of the AFN came to the attention of Council, and Council complained to the researcher about this supposed breach. This was not in fact the case. Later investigations revealed that the contract had to be stopped because the AFN's contracting company (ABC) had gone bankrupt. The bank therefore re-possessed the equipment that the AFN was using on the contract. When this happened, MWFP and the AFN held a meeting to make other arrangements for the contract. Trust is very important for partnership building, and accurate information about the efforts made by each party should have been circulated.

Another issue that reflected Band Council politics was that at some point in 2001, the AFN supervisor and Chief had a strained relationship. The AFN supervisor who had taken on the responsibilities for the contracts and for ensuring that the MOU would be reviewed, and, who was also the contact person from the community for the MWFP/AFN partnership, therefore did not report to Chief and Council about its progress or about MWFP's willingness to progress with the partnership.

7.5.4. Barriers toward Economic Development at the Industry Level

In addition to the lack of awareness of partnership details at MWFP's operations at Whitecourt described in section 7.3.1 under 'Corporate Policy to Include Alexis First Nation", one informant from MWFP stated that some persons are not fully committed to making the relationship with the AFN work, whereas others are totally committed to it. To what degree this reflects the reality is difficult to ascertain. It could reflect MWFP's lack of a formal policy to include the AFN, which makes in difficult for the entire MWFP organization to see the partnership as a priority.

7.6 Capacity Development Reflected in the Tree Planting Contract (2002)

Chief and Council decided that the AFN supervisor would not oversee the contract because of his busy schedule. The problem of the lack of skills for the supervision of the crews was addressed by using a supervisor from outside of the community, who already had a contract with MWFP, to supervise the AFN crews and to ensure that CD occurred.

CD for the contract occurred in three stages: A meeting between the AFN and MWFP; an open house presentation; and, training in the field.

1. Meeting between the AFN and MWFP

A meeting between MWFP, the contractor and the AFN was held on 6 March, 2002 to discuss CD for the contract. The contractor and foreman were informed about the CD strategies that MWFP and the AFN were working on. The contractors agreed to develop strategies in conjunction with MWFP and the AFN. The contractor was also given a copy of the report on the partnership between the AFN and MWFP (Hickey and Wilkinson Chapman, December 2001).

The meeting provided a forum to learn about each other. The four main topics explored were:

1) Questions and discussions pertaining to all the contracts awarded to the AFN, topics included the importance of taking into account overhead costs and how the AFN crews could be better trained;
2) Questions pertaining to the tree-planting contract: questions were asked by the AFN about: the responsibilities of a supervisor; the meaning of overhead costs; the hours of work required per day; the number of days the crews would be working; payment for the trees; how quality checks are done; camps; the average age of tree-planters; whether two people could work together – one with the shovel and the other with the tree;
3) Industry awareness and the obligations of MWFP: the meaning of silvicultural activities; training and the years required to become foremen and supervisors; the importance of quality, timelines and the other factors that affect production; the risks involved in taking on contracts; how the market affects contracts and employment in forestry.
4) Hiring: To combat the problem of nepotism, it was agreed that a member of the committee from the AFN would screen individuals to ensure that the best-qualified candidates were hired and, that only individuals who put in an application would be hired.

The discussions illustrated to both the AFN and MWFP that the AFN did not have the capacity to supervise contracts on its own. In order to increase the capacity of the AFN crews, both parties agreed that there would be two levels of training: one at the community level, where the AFN crews would receive adequate orientation through an open house presentation; and the other in the field during the execution of the contract.

2. Open House Presentation for the Tree-planting Contract

The open house presentation took place on 19 March, 2002, from 1 to 3 p.m. Those participating in the open house were two representatives from MWFP's Whitecourt operations in charge of overseeing silvicultural activities; the contractor and foreman for the tree planting contract; and the head of the HRD at the AFN. A video on tree planting was presented. Approximately 12 band members attended the workshop. The foreman spoke about the equipment and gear needed for planting. Handouts were also given on this topic. Extra copies of the handouts and the film were left with the head of the HRD to show the other interested individuals who could not attend the open house. Applications for employment were also available at the presentation.

3. Training in the Field

It was agreed that the AFN would be monitored and evaluated by the foreman[31]. Job shadowing occurred through the partnering of experienced crews with the AFN crews. During the contract, the role of the foreman and contractor included the identification of a potential leader among the AFN employees, who could be trained as a tree-planting supervisor.

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[31] In September 2002 the foreman wrote a report on the evaluation of performance on the tree planting contract (2002), indicating a constructive approach to CD. The details of the report could not be incorporated in this thesis as the research period ended in April 2002.

All parties agreed to provide adequate feedback. The importance of communicating problems and issues of concern as soon as they arose was stressed.

7.6.1 Evaluating Capacity Development Reflected in the Tree Planting Contract (2003)

The cooperative efforts of the tree-planting contract (2002) informed my understanding of the difficulties of CD in numerous ways. First, they informed me about the difficulties of providing incentives for cooperation. At the Council level, for example, it became quite apparent that, despite the wishes to cooperate, many Council members did not feel compelled to share responsibility for the contract. Paradoxically, some Council members did not want to put effort into something for which they did not receive any direct monetary benefits.

Second, CD strategies can be difficult to implement in forestry because of the short-term nature of contracts characteristic of the industry. Efforts to monitor and evaluate through interviews in the field can be perceived as a hindrance to the work that is normally done very quickly in the field.

Third and related to the second, the compilation of data can be tedious and time consuming for contractors who are not used to analyzing and presenting their work in a written format.

Despite the difficulties of CD in the tree-planting contract (2002), the cooperative efforts of the contract were also informative on the possibilities of CD to improve upon people's skills and knowledge. The discussions between the AFN and MWFP about the AFN's capacity in tree planting prior to the initiation of the contract, for example, were instrumental in enhancing the AFN's knowledge about tree planting.

7.7 Evaluating the Traditional Land-Use and Occupancy Study

Since the initiation of the AFN TLUOS in 1998, MWFP has contributed both financially ($14,000) as well as in kind (training and travel expenditures). Monies were also accessed from the SFM Network and various other private and government organizations. From 1999 to 2001 a researcher from the University of Alberta acted as the outside coordinator to train and build the capacity of the AFN coordinator and researchers so they could gain control of the research once outside expertise ceased to be available. MWPF agreed that once the TLUOS study was completed, MWFP intended to incorporate its findings into its forest management.

Phase One of the TLUOS, from April, 1999, to March, 2000, involved the development and implementation of CD programs at the AFN in TLUOS research. Four individuals from the community were trained in TLUOS research. One person was the Research Coordinator at the community level.

Phase Two of the TLUOS, from April, 2000 to March, 2002, included an expanded analysis of the community's land-use patterns beyond the boundaries of MWFP's FMA. Trained individuals from the community conducted and transcribed interviews, and took field trips to Whitecourt with elders. Trails and travel routes were documented which allowed for the identification of site-specific points (e.g., burials, mineral licks).

Table 7.5 describes the milestones in the TLUOS in detail. Despite the milestones, the research and the compilation of data that were supposed to be completed by the end of 2002, have, according to Chief and Council, been lost.

As can be ascertained from Table 7.5, during the progress with the TLUOS numerous interrelating factors slowed its progress. Evaluations by the researcher illustrated that despite the fact that CD strategies were used, the lack of knowledge and participation from Chief and Council and other community members, prevented the development of the TLUOS. In the 29 January, 2002,

TABLE 7.5 CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE TRADITIONAL LAND-USE STUDY

Date	Training	Community Meetings	Research Milestones
1998-1999			Research into funding availability for the TLU study.
July, 1999		Four Information sessions with community members about the TLU study.	
August, 1999			Site verification - Two days of field trips with six elders at Whitecourt
September, 1999	Four individuals from the AFN were trained in social science methodology, mapping, interviews and survey forms, use of specific icons and polygons for critical wildlife areas.		
November, 1999	Three workshops held where three individuals from the AFN were trained in audio & video equipment and basic interview techniques.		Oral history research done by a researcher from the University of Alberta.
February, 2000	Installation of one computer at the AFN reserve; one printer and GIS software donated by MWFP.		
March, 2000	One individual given GPS training for two days.		
October, 2000		Information about the process of the TLU study	Sketching of use areas on base maps
November 2000- April, 2001			12 interviews that took 30 hours with elders transcribed into 150 pages.
May – July, 2001			Fieldtrips with elders to Whitecourt to GPS sites.

meeting and in the subsequent meetings held between the AFN and MWFP, Chief and Council stated that they had never been informed of the details of the TLUOS. There was also clear evidence that many Councillors did not understand the significance of the TLUOS. One Councillor even showed surprise when it was mentioned that the AFN has the right to protect its sites of traditional land-use and occupancy.

Although the outside coordinator and the AFN coordinator had held meetings with the Chief, and the AFN coordinator had met with Chief and Council, pamphlets were not prepared to highlight the significance of the TLUOS. The lack of awareness and organization to oversee the TLUOS could explain why Chief and Council may not have seen the TLUOS as a priority. Another issue is that the TLUOS researcher from the community viewed the research as his own rather than the community's. Consequently Chief and Council have found it impossible to get any information about the TLUOS from the coordinator. The TLUOS coordinator also refused to share information with the researcher in order that she might fully evaluate the progress of the TLUOS[32]. Although MWFP has agreed to hold open house presentations in order to make an assessment of the impacts on the TLUOS area, this goal can be accomplished only when the TLUOS reveals the traditional area.

Due to the fact that the TLUOS was an important aspect of the MOU, a meeting on 12 February, 2002, was held between the Chief Forester, the researcher and Chief and Council to discuss the potential to incorporate the interim findings of the TLUOS into MWFP's AOP. Since it was obvious that Chief and Council had not been adequately informed about the TLUOS, the researcher distributed eight booklets entitled *A Guide to Conducting a Traditional Knowledge and Land Use Study* by Garvin *et al.*, (2001) to Chief and Council to provide some information about TLUOS. The booklet proved useful to one of the TLUOS researchers from the community who was asked to put in another proposal for a TLUOS in September, 2002.

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[32] The TLUOS coordinator, however, did read the report on the partnership between the AFN and MWFP that contained a description of the TLUOS and the chronological table of the TLUOS progress. He stated that he did not have any revisions to the section on the TLUOS.

7.8 Enhancement of Partnership

Both parties have made some efforts outside of the formal arrangements of the partnership. MWFP, for example, was invited to attend the celebration of the opening of the training center in October, 1999. In October, 2000, MWFP donated $600 to sponsor two tables for the high school graduation ceremony at the AFN.

Unlike many industry/First Nations in Alberta the AFN and MWFP did not begin their partnership with an MOU. The MOU is still in the process of being negotiated. The draft MOU is organized in three parts: the TLUOS; economic development; and a scholarship fund. Since the partnership developed outside the framework of an MOU, the MOU is currently being developed in a context of the partnership, relying on it as "...only the means to an end, not the end" (Honda-McNeil, 2000: 103).

The first draft of the MOU was prepared by MWFP in 2000. Steps toward revising it, however, did not occur until the meeting held on 29 January, 2002. Some amendments have been discussed and agreed to. Chief and Council have given the draft MOU to its lawyer for review. The AFN intends to discuss the details amongst themselves and will inform MWFP about what they would like to see included in the areas of employment, training and the scholarship fund. The meetings held so far have been successful, in that the MOU has been brought up for discussion. Future meetings to discuss the specifics of the MOU would be an important step toward its finalization.

8.0 Conclusions

The framework for effective collaboration addresses a growing phenomenon in Canada: reconciling the socio-cultural environments of industry and First Nations to enable each to meet its needs. The CD approach must be recognized as crucial for the long-term viability of industry/First Nation collaboration in socio-economic partnerships. The ability of First Nations communities and industry to form meaningful partnerships is greatly dependent on their ability to reconcile community and industry values. The lack of consideration of community or industry values could mean that appropriate CD processes are not established. This could result in the compromise of industry's value for quality work in their FMA, and the First Nation's value for employment and protection of their traditional lands. The framework for effective integration illustrates that in order to understand the context in which both groups are working and to identify and structure projects in a manner that is suitable, requires a shared and practiced vision of all those involved. The case study on AFN/MWFP partnership demonstrated that the task of reconciling community and industry values is far too enormous for only few individuals to manage.

National and provincial governments are instrumental in providing an environment that encourages greater collaboration between First Nations and industry, as the case study illustrates. However, the precondition for success is industry's and First Nations' ability to work together in a socially and culturally sensitive manner. To do so, both groups must create a forum to discover and address the cultural and social influences that affect the partnership. Such a forum can be useful in discussing appropriate methodologies and structures of management. In the case study, for example, the initial structure of the partnership did not factor in or foresee social and cultural barriers: the lack of skilled persons to work as supervisors, foremen or crews; nepotism; and band politics. Nor was there any other mechanism to understand and alleviate those issues. It was only after the researcher's observations made during the progress of contracts, at meetings and from spending time in the community, that the relevant issues for consideration were brought to the attention of both parties. Ironically, these were the same observations each of the parties had made independently, but their unfamiliarity with one another had prevented them from bringing these issues into the open. On the other hand, many of the barriers deriving from community, and to some degree industry - politics, added to the difficulty of confronting sensitive issues. Once the committee was formed, however, numerous sensitive issues were addressed with ease, and steps were take to resolve them.

The ability of MWFP and the AFN to engage in meaningful dialogue, however, was not merely the automatic result of forming the committee but it depended on the processes of empowerment, which is of planning and implementation. The exploration of CD strategies provided a forum that was congenial to understanding how social and cultural issues affect collaboration and to understand the context in which the partnership was based.

Integrated approaches demonstrate that environmental, economic and social integrity relies on culturally relevant management regimes in order to be effective, rather than being driven solely by abstract economic and scientific parameters. To what degree management regimes are culturally relevant largely depends on their strategies. The capacity of aboriginal communities to participate in sustainable development initiatives greatly differs between communities. CD can provide the appropriate tools to enhance the capacity of aboriginal communities. Increased participation of aboriginal groups does not necessarily denote greater authority, however: "participation can contest and sometimes change the hierarchy of authoritative voices; the structure, scope, and definition of the processes of development; and the political context within which it occurs" (Feit and Beaulieu, 2001:119).

The case study on the partnership between MWFP and the AFN is illustrative of CD initiatives to find appropriate strategies to enhance the participation of the AFN. In many ways the partnership has changed 'the hierarchy of authoritative voices' with respect to the MWFP's FMA through the AFN's participation in the FMA, as a result of the TLUOS, and contracts.

I believe that the highest calling of the TLUOS for the AFN is the psychological and health benefits of deepening self-knowledge, pride and cultural identity. The AFN could, like many First Nations are doing today, use their elder's teachings and traditional healing methods to improve the mental, spiritual, emotional and physical health of band members.

Hedican states that: "...the average Native's income is but two-thirds of the national figure, and among Indians living on reserves, 60 per cent are on welfare and another 30 per cent receive their income from part-time jobs, short-term training programs, or unemployment insurance." (1995: 12). Given that nearly 80 percent of aboriginal communities are located in forested lands, and that governments are increasingly imposing on industry the duty to consult with First Nations, greater ties with industries working on the traditional lands of these First Nations are essential for both sides' cultural and economic sustainability.

The political, cultural and social space of aboriginal peoples are perpetually being negotiated through increased participation and support for aboriginal peoples in sustainable development initiatives and through the recognition of their rights. The paradigm of sustainability has given support and justification for empowering First Nations to participate in sustainable development initiatives while maintaining their cultural integrity. This new development paradigm might acknowledge, for example, that traditional methods of management imposed by the *Indian Act* did not encourage community participation but instead made Band Councils accountable to the Minister rather than to the community (Congress of Aboriginal Peoples, 2002:10). CD in aboriginal communities therefore also entails the recognition of errors of the past in order to identify and build strategies for the future.

Although community development has always been a priority of aboriginal communities, the ability to formulate integrated approaches with industry and government has only recently gained momentum. Only twenty years ago for example, a conference on community based development held in Edmonton, Alberta, concluded that with respect to community based economic development: "Unfortunately, government, while interested, currently does not have the apparatus to fund this type of integrated approach. Current programs for which communities might apply are generally aimed specifically for short-term job creation" (Dorsey and Ticoll, 1982: 52). Today, however, government policies promote economic self-sufficiency through integrated approaches. The integrated approaches pursue economic, environmental and cultural sustainability tying communities, industries and governments. This has generated numerous networks and programs with research priorities that support new and innovative ways in which to manage as well as enhance participation and accommodate differing interests.

Bridging the gap between industry and First Nations can nevertheless be a daunting task for any specific First Nation and industry because of their unfamiliarity with one another. Further, the traditional methods of management of First Nations and industry respectively often do not offer the techniques needed for sustainable development. Increasingly anthropologists are playing a greater role in bridging the gap between First Nations and industry. Many anthropologists work as consultants, advisors or employees of First Nations communities or their organizations, which often requires them to acquire skills not normally covered in anthropology (Dyck and Waldrum, 1993:19). Many also have the ability to serve as cultural interpreters such as "expert witnesses" (Dyck and Waldrum, 1993: 20) and, "...social ombudspersons...to mediate between communities and governments" (ibid). Some anthropologists also conduct "problem-oriented research which seeks to investigate sensitive but important issues in a manner which strives to be both objective and useful to Native communities" (Dyck and Waldrum, 1993: 21). Since 1985 there have been more anthropologists outside of the American Anthropology Association than inside it (Bodley, 1994: 320, and E. Chambers, 1985: ii, qtd. in Nolan, 2002:69).

The new roles of anthropologists illustrate the growing reality of "…greater native control over their own culture" (Richer, 1988:411, qtd. in Hedican, 1995: 13), and have encouraged anthropologists to play a more active role in the societies in which they work. Anthropological studies have therefore become more invasive than was traditionally the case, as early anthropologists did not advise the people with whom they worked (McCurdy, 1998: 68). Instead, in traditional anthropology the societies studied were intended to "…teach the anthropologist how to see their world" (McCurdy, 1998: 70).

Anthropology's venture into other disciplines is not unique. Numerous other fields are increasingly applying anthropological theories and methods to gain a more holistic understanding of their social, cultural and ecological environments. Organizational behavior theorists, for example, have used anthropology to help them better understand organizational culture (McShane and Gilnow, 2000:15). International and national business, as well, are increasingly using organizational theories and are even hiring anthropologists to gain a greater understanding of their changing cultural and social work force diversity. The "…shift of focus from management-centric to culturally relative" (McDonald, 2002, 397) in organizations is increasing the call for more anthropological approaches because "Anthropologists emphasize communicating with and researching the perceptions and behaviors of non-managers in contrast to organizational theory" (*ibid*).

Today, as a result of changes in the contemporary world, "…a world, social theorists are now wont to tell us, that is characterized by time-space compression, deindustrialization, and intensifying identity politics" (Englund and Leach, 2000: 225) anthropological methods of analysis have made the shift from observation to "participation" (Cruikshank, 1993: 6).

In the analysis of the AFN/MWFP partnership, the need to coordinate, mediate and obtain feedback required that I be an active participant. The short time available for my research as compared to that taken for traditional ethnographies was often not compatible with the nature of the work. Ethnographic fieldwork, however, was necessary in order to provide clues to the subtle and underlying assumptions of both parties, and it was useful in order to gain a broader understanding of the issues that affected the partnership. In sum, the "…two inter-connected activities (that) comprise the core of ethnographic research: First–hand participation in some initially unfamiliar social world and the production of written accounts of that world by drawing upon such participation" (Emerson, Fretz and Shaw, 1995: 1) were undeniably beneficial in the action research.

Sustainable development initiatives pose new challenges and opportunities for anthropologists. Given the novelty of sustainable development and its all-encompassing paradigm, different facets of society previously left unconsidered because of the lack of an integrated approach are being considered for investigation and action. The holistic approaches of anthropology, such as participant-observation methods, offer an advantage over most other disciplines as they allow anthropologists to go beyond the research design to expose other interests and activities (Lithman, 1984: 168 qtd. in Dyck and Waldram, 1993: 16). Englund and Leach (2000) espouse the idea that anthropological methods are unique to social science methods, for unlike other social science methods, ethnography is a practice "…of *reflexive* knowledge production not on an empiricist critique based on unmediated experience. The knowledge practices of ethnography…are unique in that they give the ethnographer's interlocutors a measure of authority in producing an understanding of their life-worlds" (2000: 226-227). Combining ethnographic techniques with action research provides an effective methodology for bridging the gap between First Nation and industry, as it brings to the surface the social and cultural issues that need to be considered.

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APPENDIX A

Sample Interview Questions

Questions asked to Members of the Alexis First Nation*

What is your role in the partnership between Millar Western and the Alexis First Nation?

What initiatives do you think that Chief and Council can take to improve the partnership between the Alexis First Nation and Millar Western?

What initiatives do you think Millar Western can take to improve the partnership between it and the Alexis First Nation?

Do you think communications between Millar Western and the Alexis First Nation are good?

How would you improve communications between Millar Western and the Alexis First Nation?

Are there any other activities that are outside of the partnership that you are a part of in Millar Western's FMA?

What training programs do you think are needed to improve the Alexis First Nation's capacity in forestry?

What can Chief and Council do to improve the economic opportunities in forestry?

What is the history of the Alexis First Nation and Millar Western's working relationship?

What kinds of 'cultural programs' need to be considered in the partnership with Millar Western, if any?

What does capacity building mean to you?

What would you do to improve capacity building strategies?

What are some of the difficulties that you find in working with Millar Western? What would you do to improve them?

Do you receive calls from Millar Western personally?

Who have you spoken to from Millar Western in the past few years? What was the reason?

What in your view does the term 'partnership' mean in the partnership between the Alexis First Nation and Millar Western?

Sample Questions asked to the Crews working on the Projects:

How did you hear about this job?

When did you learn about the job?

Were you given any information about this job before you started?

Do you live on or off reserve?

Have you had any experience in forestry before?

How many meetings do you have on this job? What do you discuss in the meetings? Who attends the meetings?

Do you hunt or trap in this area?

Are there any other activities that you do in this area?

Do you ever have to talk directly to someone from Millar Western?

Do you feel that more training is needed?

What training programs do you think could be beneficial to the Alexis First Nation crews working on this project?

Do you plan to go into forestry in the future?

Have you worked on other projects at Millar Western's FMA? If yes, what were they?

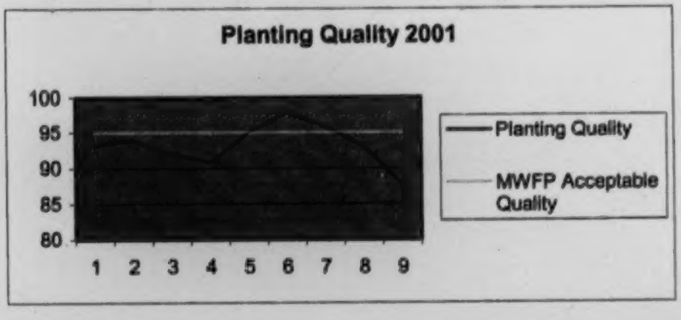
* Millar Western Forest Products were asked the same questions that were asked of the Alexis First Nation.

APPENDIX B

Some Building Blocks with an Example to Illustrate

By looking at some of the problems from previous contracts one can ensure that those problems do not occur again. Rectifying problems will: 1-reduce frustrations; 2-improve collaboration between Alexis and Millar; 3-increase the capacity of the Alexis crews as workers, foremen and supervisors.

1. Example-Quality



According to those crews and foreman from Alexis and representatives of Millar Western working on the tree-planting contract (2001), some of the reasons that contributed to low quality standards were:

1- Many Alexis crews quit;
2- Many Alexis crews did not work hard or take instructions well;
3- Many of the crews did not understand the job before going into the field;
4- Lack of communication because crews did not understand their job and therefore were not able to communicate the problems;
5- Quality was not stressed. Many crews thought they were being paid by the hour instead by quality and quantity;
6- Experienced persons worked separately from inexperienced persons. Inexperienced persons therefore did not get proper training.

Some Solutions:

1- Information sessions with videos for the Alexis crews to be given at the community prior to work start up;
2- Experienced persons to train inexperienced persons in the field;
3- Hire only those who are willing to work such as individuals who hand in a résumé;
4- Take advantage of training sessions given by Millar Western at Whitecourt.